

CAROL'S FIRST LOVE
DILLON & F. GORDON



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CARLYLE'S FIRST LOVE





Margaret Gordon or Banckman

: CARLYLE'S :
FIRST LOVE

MARGARET GORDON
LADY BANNERMAN

AN ACCOUNT OF HER LIFE
ANCESTRY AND HOMES ⌘ ⌘
HER FAMILY AND FRIENDS BY
RAYMOND CLARE ARCHIBALD
WITH 21 ILLUSTRATIONS ⌘
INCLUDING ONE IN COLOUR

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PREFACE

IN the following sketch all known information concerning Margaret Gordon, her father and mother, her aunt Mrs. Usher, and her brothers and sisters, has been brought together, and very full accounts are given of her husband Sir Alexander Bannerman, her step-father Dr. Guthrie, her ancestry and ancestral homes. Such details are naturally divided into two parts, although many statements of the second part can only be fully appreciated by those who have read the first part. Margaret Gordon's family history and connections, and the circumstances of her birth and early life, are dealt with in Part I. Those without interest in such matters may turn from the Introduction to Part II, which takes up the various relations of Margaret Gordon to the "Sage of Chelsea," and the period of her married life and widowhood.

The great variety of the printed and manuscript sources of information will appear from the lists of authorities in the text, but a large amount of the material was derived from personal interviews

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and a very extensive correspondence carried on during several years. Until six months ago practically nothing of any importance concerning Margaret Gordon had been published, except what may be found in Carlyle's "Reminiscences" and Froude's *Life*, published in 1881 and 1882 respectively. Less than a dozen of her letters have been found, and although scores of people who knew Lady Bannerman are still living, the number who knew her intimately, or who can give any reliable information about her, is fast becoming very few. Under these circumstances, it was manifestly impossible to procure material necessary for a thorough study, but sufficient has been presented to make plain the main outlines of her life-story. The authorities for the various statements made in any chapter are grouped at the end of the chapter. Books or manuscripts thus referred to usually contain much fuller information than it has been thought necessary to present in the text, while many new facts may be gleaned from the supplementary bibliographies given in Appendix H. Reference to the Genealogical Trees in the Appendices will not only give additional information but facilitate the comprehension of the earlier chapters.

The field for research was a wide one. In Nassau, Bahamas; in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington; in Halifax and Charlottetown,

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Canada; in St. John's, Newfoundland; in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and Aberdeen; in London, Lee, Greenwich, and Hereford; and in Dublin, Foxhall, and Rathmelton, records were laid under contribution, and all of these places except the Bahamas and Ireland were personally visited. To many people in these cities, and to dozens of correspondents and others elsewhere, I am greatly indebted for assistance. It was my good fortune to meet two of Lady Bannerman's nieces, Mrs. Gillespie and Mrs. Syngé, and to receive from them invaluable information for the correct representation of Lady Bannerman's career. Mrs. Syngé had lived with Lady Bannerman several years, almost as her own daughter, and her reminiscences carry her back to the Aberdeen days. I am indebted to Mrs. Gillespie's son, Captain Gillespie, for permission to reproduce the portraits of Lady Bannerman, Miss Guthrie (1824), and Mrs. Usher, the silhouette of Dr. Gordon, and the wax miniature of Alexander Bannerman; to the Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen for permission to reproduce a portrait of Alexander Bannerman as a young man; to The Reverend Charles M. S. Patterson of Chebsey Vicarage, Eccleshall, for permission to reproduce a miniature of Governor Walter Patterson; and to Mr. Alexander Carlyle, of Edinburgh, for permission to reproduce all of one and the greater

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part of a second letter which Margaret Gordon wrote to Carlyle. Without the enthusiastic, able, and most generous help of Mrs. Constance Skelton, of Harrow, my information about Dr. Gordon¹ and his Logie connections could not have been presented; and were it not for what can be scarcely otherwise characterized than stupendous knowledge of the Gordons possessed by Mr. J. M. Bulloch, of London, our story would be lacking in interesting features. Having laid before him certain facts with regard to Margaret Gordon's father, with unerring intuition he connected him with a family which was already known, although in a work he had edited entirely different conclusions were drawn. I also desire to express here my thanks to Mr. G. M. Fraser, of the Aberdeen Public Library, for interesting references; to the veteran ex-Bailie Walker (whose memory of Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman carries him back to 1832) for royal hospitality and permission to go through his remarkable collection of Journals; to The Reverend James Forrest, D.D., of Lonmay, for

¹ The frequency with which the name Alexander as a Gordon Christian name was met with, introduced a large element of difficulty in tracing Dr. Gordon's family. He is one of nearly one hundred Alexander Gordons who were, or now are, officers in the British Army, and whose biographies are to be found in Mrs. Skelton's manuscript Dictionary of "Gordons under Arms."

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information about Logie; to Mrs. William Stuart, of Ballymena, who co-operated enthusiastically in tracing out the Bonaparte and other Pattersons in Ireland; to Miss Hancorn, who was companion to Miss Guthrie for the last thirty years of her life, and was with Lady Bannerman when Sir Alexander died; to Mrs. Nicholson, of Oxford, whose recollections of her life in Berkeley Street date back to the period when Lady Bannerman's mother was still alive; to Mr. Harry W. Le Messurier, Deputy Collector of Customs, St. John's, for information about Sir Alexander Bannerman in Newfoundland; to Mr. Harry Piers, the ever courteous and genial custodian of the Nova Scotia Archives, for helpful suggestions; to Dr. John T. Mellish, of Charlottetown, whose great knowledge of the history of Prince Edward Island and her people was generously placed at my disposal; and to Professor Damon, of Brown University, who read this sketch in manuscript and made many valuable suggestions.

I should be glad to hear from any reader who may be able to furnish me with new facts in connection with Lady Bannerman's history, for without doubt much of interest remains undiscovered. In conclusion, it may be remarked that great care has been taken not to insert any statement in the following outline sketch without

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thoroughly testing its accuracy from a variety of sources. For this reason it was thought undesirable to include a number of current tales, while the extent of truth in some others is indicated.

R. C. A.

BROWN UNIVERSITY,
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May, 1909.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY—PATTERSON ANCESTRY

FOR nearly thirty years students of Carlyle have been interested in Margaret Gordon, who, correctly or incorrectly, has been styled his "First Love." The vivid sketch of this "Heaven's Messenger," found in Carlyle's *Reminiscences*, the remarkable fragment of her farewell letter to him, and Froude's statement that "Margaret Gordon was the original, so far as there was an original, of Blumine in 'Sartor Resartus,'" all excite our curiosity. And we ask, Who was Margaret Gordon? "Of what station in Life was she; of what parentage, fortune, aspect? Specially by what Preëstablished Harmony of occurrences did Lover and Loved meet one another in so wide a world?"

In the following pages these questions are for the first time fully answered. It is shown,

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among many other things, that she was by birth a Canadian, the grand-daughter of one colonial governor, an Irishman, and the wife of another, a Scotchman; that her father's early home was on a Scottish estate, which is of interest as the scene of incidents mentioned in a well-known ballad; that near relatives were prominent in the British and American Navies; that she was on terms of intimacy with many of the most eminent men and women of England during the first half of the nineteenth century; that she was a woman endowed with no ordinary gifts and graces, and fitted to fill any walk in life. Her span of life was little less than Carlyle's own, and her death occurred somewhat over two years before her introduction to the world as the original of the "Snow-and-rose-bloom maiden" Blumine.

Margaret Gordon's history is then not without elements of romance; the same may be said concerning her mother; other elements of the genealogical order will not be of such general interest, but are provided for those curious in this direction. How far Carlyle's reference to Margaret as "a far-off Huntly I doubt not" is correct, will be made clear. The earlier part of what follows is therefore, an account of Margaret Gordon's parentage, family, ancestry and ancestral homes.

Introductory—Patterson Ancestry

I. WALTER PATTERSON

In 1763 after the war with France the Island of Saint John in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, along with other territory in what is now the Dominion of Canada, was by the Treaty of Fontainebleau formally ceded to Great Britain. The Island of Saint John was so called by Cabot because of the day of its discovery, but since 1799 it has been known as Prince Edward Island, being so named in honour of Prince Edward Duke of Kent, father of our late Queen. To this Island in 1764 a surveyor was sent by the British Government; his work was completed a year later; he divided the Island into sixty-seven lots or townships, varying in size from 20,000 to 23,600 acres each, and three county town lots of 4000, 4000, 7300 acres. To this day the various sections of the province are spoken of by the old "Lot" numbers. On July 23, 1767, these townships or lots were granted by the Crown by ballot to certain "proprietors." Lot 19 was thus granted to the brothers "Walter Paterson Esq. Capt. & John Paterson," to whom we shall frequently refer in the early part of our sketch. In 1768 a large majority of the proprietors presented a petition to the King, praying that the Island which since 1763 had been attached to the Government of Nova Scotia should be erected

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into a separate government. This petition was granted, and accordingly Captain Walter Patterson, one of the Island proprietors, was on February 2, 1769, appointed "Captain General and Governor-in-chief in His Majesty's Island of St. John." About a year and a half later, on August 30, 1770, Governor Patterson arrived in Charlottetown, the capital of the Island. He was accompanied by his brother John who acted as his private secretary. Both brothers had seen army service, and it seems highly probable that the Walter Patterson who as a volunteer was commissioned Ensign (1757) and Lieutenant (1760) in the 80th Regiment and served with this regiment in America was he who was afterwards to become a colonial governor.

Walter Patterson was an Irishman, and his father was known as "William Patterson of Foxhall," Co. Donegal, although his ancestors lived and were buried in the not far distant town of Rathmelton, on the border of the Fanad peninsula. Foxhall was a leased estate of about 170 acres in the parish of Conwall, some thirty miles from Buncrana, to which we shall presently refer. William Patterson had five daughters, and four sons¹ of whom Walter was the eldest

¹ William Patterson, who was appointed schoolmaster in Prince Edward Island in 1777, and whose death is referred to in dispatches of November 19, 1781, and June 23, 1784, and doubtless the youngest of the four.



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and John, born about 1742, the third. Of Walter Patterson's education we know nothing except what may be inferred from his despatches, covering a period of over twenty years, which may be seen at the Record Office in London. A twenty-four volume work on the historical and constitutional aspects of English history which was in his library in Prince Edward Island may perhaps give a clue to his tastes. This work is still preserved by a gentleman in Charlottetown, and each volume bears the book plate



Concerning Walter Patterson's private life while in Prince Edward Island not a great deal is known. The old house in which he lived on the "Fort Lot" (now called Rocky Point) was the house of the French governor. It was a large wooden two-story building with a very high stone foundation. Nothing but the cellar, nearly filled up with stones, earth, and rubbish, now remains. In this house Patterson's successor, Governor Fanning, lived for some time, and here Abbé de Calonne was for years a tenant. In this house too, between the years 1771 and 1775, Patterson's daughters Margaret

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and Anne were born. Their mother was Margaret (?) Hyde,¹ daughter of Thomas Hyde, who came from Clare, Ireland, to Prince Edward Island in 1770. He brought his family with him, and settled at West River.² The "Fort Lot," which includes the site of the old French capital of the island, Port-la-Joie, is over five hundred acres in extent, and was developed by Patterson into a highly productive farm. It is beautifully situated on undulating hills near the harbour's entrance and across the mouths of the North and West Rivers from Charlottetown, the present capital.

In 1775 Governor Patterson was granted leave of absence, and he left Charlottetown for England on August 2. He did not again return till June 28, 1780. The next few years were stormy ones in Patterson's administration; and by 1786 complaints had become so numerous his recall was ordered, and Lieutenant-Governor Fanning, then at Halifax, was sent to take his place. Patterson's fight to retain office forms an interesting episode in the history of the Island. For several months this island, with scarce 4000 inhabitants, was ruled by two governors, since

¹ Miss Hyde was not Patterson's wife. He married, March 9, 1770, Miss Hester Warren, "of Stratford, Essex," England. They had at least four children (*Genl's. Mac.*, 1770; Despatch, dated March 20, 1776; Memorial, dated July, 1799).

² See Appendix C.

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Patterson, who had a large number of friends, refused to give up to his successor the great seal, public documents, and official papers. Fanning's proclamation giving notification of his appointment and calling on all loyal inhabitants to recognize his title to the governorship was followed on the next day by a counter proclamation from Patterson, declaring that *he* was the accredited representative of His Majesty, and enjoining the people to pay no attention to the pretensions of a usurper. In this wise great confusion arose; but on April 5, 1787, a peremptory order was sent by the Secretary of State to Patterson to deliver to Fanning "all the public documents and instructions in his possession, the King having no longer need of his services."¹ But even this was not to end the conflict between these men; after an absence of a few months at Quebec, Patterson returned to the Island, and set up a systematic opposition to the administration of his successor, and this he continued until his return to England in 1788.

"It is evident," writes Prince Edward Island's latest historian, "that Patterson was a broken and ruined man, soured by misfortune and his long struggles to advance his own and the

¹ A few years later, on the Island of Cape Breton, there was a remarkable similarity of circumstances, varying in details, when Murray was ordered to transfer the administration to Despard.

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province's interests. He had invested his fortune in the Island and lost it. . . . That he acted most indiscreetly in his dealings with Fanning is evident. It was the conduct of a soured and disappointed man."

In 1790 he was appealing to the Government for help, but there is no evidence that he received assistance. He never returned to Prince Edward Island, and died in poverty "at his lodgings in Castle Street, Oxford Market," London, on September 6, 1798.

Such, in brief, is the career of Walter Patterson, Prince Edward Island's first English governor, 1770-86. His career is of interest in this connection since Margaret Patterson, Walter Patterson's daughter, became Margaret Gordon's mother.

2. WALTER PATTERSON'S BROTHERS

It would appear that John Patterson did not remain in Prince Edward Island very long, for by the early part of 1772 he was married and travelling in England with his wife Catherine, daughter of the wealthy merchant Robert Livingston, third and last Lord of the Manor of Livingston, Columbia County, New York. The Livingstons were a remarkable family. Nearly all the daughters married distinguished men and the sons held prominent positions in the State. A sister of Robert married William Alexander,

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"Lord Stirling"; a brother, Peter an eminent merchant,¹ married a sister of "Lord Stirling"; a second brother, William, called the "Don Quixote of the Jerseys," became the celebrated Governor of New Jersey; and a third brother, Philip, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

On October 19, 1772, John Patterson was appointed Collector of Customs at the Port of Philadelphia. Although he declined this appointment, he became Deputy Collector in 1774, and this post he held at the time of the Revolution. He had a family of ten children, seven sons and three daughters,² from whom the descendants are very numerous. One son, Walter, who resided at Livingston, N.Y., was a member of the state House of Representatives in 1818, and was elected a representative of New York to the

¹ He was in business partnership with William Alexander, and one of the transactions in which he was engaged was the furnishing of supplies to General William Shirley's expedition to Acadie in 1755.

² One of these daughters, Mary Thong, became Mrs. R. E. Griffith, of Philadelphia. Perhaps the most beautiful miniature ever painted by Gilbert Stuart was a portrait of Mrs. Griffith, which is reproduced in the *Century Magazine*, May, 1899, 58, 2, 153. It is here stated that Mrs. Griffith was a daughter of Major John Patterson of the British Army, who served as aide to General Abercrombie at the disastrous attack on Fort Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758. But Patterson was never a "Major." He was commissioned Lieutenant in the 15th British Infantry May 4, 1761, and left the Army in 1763.

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seventeenth Congress, 1821-3. In 1828 he was appointed a judge and he died in 1852. Another son, William, was American consul at Antwerp. A third son, Daniel Todd Patterson, became a commodore in the United States Navy, and he died in 1839 in command of the Navy Yard at Washington. In 1814 he had charge of the naval forces in New Orleans, co-operating ably with General Andrew Jackson, and receiving the thanks of Congress.¹ He lived in New Orleans for some time, and there married Georgianne Pollock. They had several sons and daughters. One son, Carlile Pollock, became Director of the United States Coast Survey; another son, Thomas Harmon, became a Rear-Admiral in the United States Navy; a daughter, Eliza Catherine, married George Mifflin Bache, a great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin; and another daughter, Georgianne, became the wife of David Dixon Porter, Admiral in the United States Navy.

¹ A curious incident in the history of this family may be related: John Patterson's brother, Daniel, had a daughter and heir, Wilhelmina, who married (1799) her second cousin, William Thornton, son of Daniel Todd of Buncrana Castle (see Appendix B). This William Thornton Todd had a first cousin, Sir William Thornton, who, as colonel, commanded a division of the British Army at the battle of New Orleans in 1815, and it so chanced that he was selected to lead the attack upon the marine battery held by his near connection, Daniel Todd Patterson!

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These were all second cousins of Margaret Gordon.

As a further connection of the Patterson family with the Navy it may be noted that John Patterson's sister Anne married Rear-Admiral George Hart, who fought under Nelson. There is a tablet to his memory in the church at Buncrana, Ireland, and there is also a tablet to Rear-Admiral Hart, his wife, their only son, Henry Chichester Hart, R.N., and a daughter, in the church of St. Mary Magdalene, at Taunton, England. One of Admiral Hart's daughters married Admiral Plumridge.

John Patterson died at Philadelphia in 1798, about six months before his brother Walter. His wife survived him nearly thirty-five years.

The Patterson connection with Buncrana Castle was brought about not only through the marriage of the above-mentioned children of Daniel Patterson and Daniel Todd, but also by earlier family intermarriage, for these men were double first cousins. This explains the armour of Daniel Todd of Buncrana Castle, as given in Burke's *Heraldic Illustrations*,¹ and gives us incidentally

¹ *Arms*.—Quarterly first and fourth, Todd; second and third, Patterson. *Crests*.—First, Todd; second, Patterson. *Mottoes*.—*Faire sans dire* for Todd; *I die for those I love* for Patterson. Cf. FOX-DAVIES, *Armorial Families*, "Paterson of Castle Huntly."

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the Patterson coat and crest as still preserved on glassware handed down to Governor Walter Patterson's descendants.

Buncrana is now a pleasant and pretty little bathing-place situated on the shores of Lough Swilly. It is about twelve miles from Londonderry and has fine golf-links. The square keep of the old castle of the O'Dohertys stands at the north end of the town, and with its approaches and gardens is a picturesque object. The modern castle was erected by Sir John Vaughan in 1717.

Thus Margaret Gordon had cousins and relatives distinguished in the public service in the United States. We shall find later that in addition to her other connections in the British and American navies, her brother Edward was commander of the sloop *Acorn* in the British navy.

3. THE BONAPARTE PATTERSONS

In the early part of the nineteenth century, William, or as he was locally known, "Billy" Patterson, was one of the wealthiest citizens of the United States. He established himself at Baltimore some twelve years after his arrival at Philadelphia as a penniless lad of fourteen years of age. In writing of his parents and birth he has told us¹ that "they were both descended

¹ In his will, Orphan's Court, Baltimore, where it is by far the longest will recorded.

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from a mixture of English and Scotch families who had settled in Ireland after the conquest of that country. I was born on the first of November, old style, in the year 1752, at the place called Fanat (*sic*) in the county of Donegal, Ireland." As Fanad is the name of a peninsula, the place of his birth is not thus very definitely determined, But inquiry has revealed that it was at a townland called Rosgarrow. To this place and the neighbouring townlands of Urbleshinney and Glenkeen, all near Milford, the ancestors of "Billy" Patterson came from Newton-Cunningham late in the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century. Now Milford is only some three miles from Rathmelton, to which we have already referred, and for our purposes it is interesting to know that John Patterson, Collector of Customs at Philadelphia, and Walter Patterson, Governor of Prince Edward Island, were second cousins of William Patterson, of Baltimore. They had the same great-grandfather, John Paterson, of Rathmelton, whose will was proved in 1704.¹ Moreover, their sisters married brothers.

In 1779 Mr. William Patterson married Dorcas, the eighteen-year-old daughter of William Spear, and by her had thirteen children, eight sons and five daughters. We shall briefly refer to the second son, Robert, and the eldest daughter, Elizabeth.

¹ Cf. Appendix A.

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Robert married, 1815, Mary the eldest of Richard Caton's four daughters, three of whom were especially noted for their beauty and fascination of manner. These three, the above-mentioned Mary, Elizabeth, and Louise, were greatly admired by the Duke of Wellington, and were guests at his home. They all married into the English nobility. Robert Patterson died in 1822, and three years later his widow married Marquis Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington's elder brother; Elizabeth Caton became Lady Stafford, and her sister Louise, first the wife of Sir Felton Bathurst Hervey, Bart., after his death was married to the Duke of Leeds.

The marriage of Robert Patterson's widow to the Duke of Wellington's brother brought about the curious situation that the sister, by marriage, of the conqueror of Europe became nearly related to the sister, by marriage, of the vanquisher of that conqueror. For, Robert Patterson's beautiful sister Elizabeth, "the belle of Baltimore," married, 1803, Jérôme Bonaparte, youngest brother of the First Consul of France. Napoleon would never recognize the marriage, nor would he allow the wife to land in French territory. At Lisbon and at Amsterdam her landing was prevented by French ships, and finally, in June, 1805, she found refuge in England. Here, on July 7, her son Jérôme Napoleon Bonaparte

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was born. Her husband was easily persuaded to gratify his brother's ambition. A decree of divorce was passed by the Imperial Council of State : he was created King of Westphalia, and in 1807 he married Catherine Frederica, Princess of Würtemberg.

Madame Elizabeth Bonaparte spent the later years of her life in Baltimore, where she died, in 1879, in the ninety-fifth year of her age. Her son, Jérôme Napoleon, was recognized as a child of France. He married an American lady, and had two sons, one of whom, Charles Joseph Bonaparte, was the recent Attorney-General of the United States.

The discussion of the relationship between the Bonaparte Pattersons and Robert Paterson, the old Linnæist who has been immortalized by Sir Walter Scott as "Old Mortality," in a novel of the same name, has been recently revived. Sir Walter tells us that "Old Mortality" had three sons, Robert, Walter, and John, who "went to America in the year 1776 and, after various turns of fortune, settled in Baltimore." It was reasoned that this John was the father of William Patterson and the grandfather of Elizabeth (Patterson) Bonaparte. But these statements are wholly erroneous, since, in the will quoted above, Mr. Patterson tells us that his father's name was William, not John. For

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reasons into which we need not here enter it seems highly probable that John Paterson, of Rathmelton, and Robert Paterson, "Old Mortality," were not very distantly related.

It would be interesting to know if the Duke of Wellington was acquainted with his connection by marriage with Margaret Gordon's mother when he used to visit her home in London. It is known, however, that because of her Bonaparte connections Margaret Gordon's sister-in-law, Mrs. Guthrie, when residing in Paris in the fifties and sixties, obtained admission to many of the Tuileries functions.

Authorities.—Patterson's correspondence with the Colonial Office in London and other papers relating to Patterson are preserved in the Record Office, Chancery Lane, London. They embrace the period February 23, 1764 to October 10, 1799. Copies of these documents are to be found in the Archives Department at Ottawa, Canada. A calendar of the documents was printed, with a general introduction by D. Brymner, by the Archives Department in their annual volume for 1895—Succession Books of Regiments, Record Office, London—D. CAMPBELL, *History of P.E.I.*,

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See also Appendix A.

Introductory—Patterson Ancestry

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CHAPTER II

ALEXANDER GORDON

MARGARET'S father was named Alexander Gordon. In a document¹ written by his sister, we are informed that he "entered the Army in 1776, as a medical officer," served during the American War in the "Guards," and was "in active service in various parts of the world in different medical capacities." He was a "Hospital Mate" during the greater part of his military career, and as this was not a commission appointment, records would not specifically connect him with any one regiment. Nevertheless it is not improbable that he was one of the three Hospital Mates who embarked at Portsmouth for North America in March, 1776, with a "detachment from three regiments of Foot Guards . . . under command of Col. Matthew, Coldstream Regt." With such regiments he served through the American War. As to his pay, we find that in October, 1781, the pay of competent Hospital Mates was increased to 78. 0/6 a day.

¹ See Appendix L.



A. Gordon

Alexander Gordon

In 1782 George III conceded the Independence of the United States; hostilities ceased, and in the following year a treaty was concluded. Thus in October, 1783, many regiments from New York arrived in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Gordon doubtless accompanied one of them. In December the service of all officers of the hospital staff in Canada was discontinued, and for those who desired it, passage to Great Britain was provided. Gordon must have returned to England about this time, for he was "surgeon" at the temporary hospital in Plymouth from February 1 to May 24, 1784, when his section of the hospital was closed and he was ordered to repair to London. On August 25 he was appointed Hospital Mate in Cape Breton, but was not sent; for, under date March 12, 1785, we find a letter from Surgeon-General Adair, ordering "*Mr. Alex. Gordon at Mrs. Gordon's, Logie, Edinburgh,*" to repair to his station. He was no doubt visiting his mother and sister at this time. The reason for not repairing to his station the previous year is not clear, since we find that, although his appointment is marked "*cancelled,*" he received in July, 1786, his pay as "Hospital Mate, Cape Breton, Aug. 25-Dec., 1784, at 7/6 a day."

Whether Gordon really went to Cape Breton in 1785 or not is unknown, but it seems more

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probable that he was sent to Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, where he was certainly living July 2, 1787. In an old account book we find under this date after his name the entry : "1 loaf of sugar 6 lb. 11 oz. $1/3$ 8s 3d," from which it would further appear that the merchant was not strong in arithmetic. Within the next few months fourteen entries occur in connection with Gordon's name. The dress of the period is indicated by such entries as "July 10 $1/2$ doz. pairs stockings 3/ 18.0"; "July 13, 1 pair large best plated buckles 9/0"; "July 30, 1 pott pomatum 1/0"; and "Aug. 22, 1 pr. garters /9." Gordon did not seem to be averse to the "cup that cheers," for there are various entries such as "Oct. 29, 1787, $1/2$ gallon Rum 8/ 4.0"; the price of rum seemed to be very variable in those days, for the last entry under Gordon's name is "July 30, 1788, 2 $1/2$ gallons Rum by David 5/ 12/6."

But these entries are of further interest from the fact that two of them are headed "Doctr. Gordon 42nd Regt." This is the only known record connecting Gordon with the Black Watch Regiment; but it is probable that he was merely Hospital Mate in connection with two companies of the regiment which were temporarily in Charlottetown at this period. Apparently his regimental duties did not wholly occupy his time,

Alexander Gordon

and he had opportunity for practising his profession in the surrounding districts; for in an old diary or journal we find two references¹ to Dr. Gordon, the first of which is:—

"Dec. 6, 1787			
Doctor Gordon's Caryall			
Workmanship	.	.	1 15 8
Nails	.	.	1 6
Circle Timber	.	.	1 10
Dry Board of the best	.	.	3 0
			£2 2 6

Within the next few years Gordon made several unsuccessful attempts to get a surgeoncy in one of the regiments in Nova Scotia,² and he seems to have finally decided on settling in Charlottetown. On July 30, 1790, was recorded the registration of grants of lands made to Gordon by Lieut.-Governor Fanning on May 5, 1789, and April 26, 1790. One of these lots is the same as that on which the St. James (Presby-

¹ This journal was kept by Benjamin Chappell, who was born in London in 1740, emigrated to Prince Edward Island in 1774, and died in 1825. It contains most interesting information regarding the religious and secular early history of the colony for more than forty years. It is in the possession of Dr. John T. Mellish, Charlottetown. The second entry referred to above is "Saturday July 2, 1803 To-day survey'd Dr. Gordon's house."

² Surgeon-General Robt. Adair writing to Gordon, January 30, 1790, promised to recommend him to the first vacancy as regimental surgeon. But Adair died March 16, 1790.

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terian) Church now stands. For the next ten years his home was to be in Charlottetown.¹ On March 5, 1791, a licence was issued for his marriage to Miss Margaret Patterson, daughter of Prince Edward Island's first Governor, who was at that time in London appealing for help. Four children were born of this union: the eldest, Henry, born December, 1791; Edward, born October 29, and baptized December 14, 1794; Mary Helen, born September 23, 1795, baptized October 18, 1796; and *the youngest, Margaret, born August 24, 1798, baptized September 23, 1799.* The record of all these baptisms may be found in the registers of St. Paul's Church, Charlottetown.

A quaint document of the period of Gordon's early married life has been preserved. It is an indenture dated September 10, 1791, whereby Catherine McIsaac aged ten binds herself "to live and serve as an apprentice and servant until she shall be of the full age of eighteen years . . . and during all which time until she shall be of the full age of eighteen years as aforesaid she the said Catherine McIsaac shall the said

¹ Documents of January and March, 1790, refer to Gordon as Hospital Mate in Cape Breton at 7s. 6d. a day, but for reasons into which we need not enter, it is improbable that Gordon left Charlottetown between July 30, 1788, and July 30, 1790. He was therefore a continuous resident of the city for the fifteen years 1785-1800.

Alexander Gordon

Alexander Gordon her said master well and faithfully serve in all such lawful business as the said Catherine McIsaac shall be put unto by the command of her said master according to the power, wit and ability of the said Catherine McIsaac and honestly and obediently in all things shall behave herself toward her said master *and orderly towards the rest of the family* of the said Alexander Gordon during the term aforesaid. And the said Alexander Gordon in consideration of said services of her the said Catherine McIsaac during the term aforesaid, doth hereby covenant, promise, *bind and oblige himself to teach or cause to be taught the said Catherine McIsaac in the Art and mystery and occupation of a servant* after the best manner that he the said Alexander Gordon can or may cause to be done, etc."

During these years of his married life Gordon's income from his military appointments must at times have been very small, since we find that between March 25 and August 24, 1800, he drew only £8 pay as "acting garrison surgeon."¹ His letters to the War Office requesting

¹ Records state that as Hospital Mate he received 7s. 6d. a day June-December, 1792. Returns refer to Gordon as "Hospital Mate" June-November, 1795, as "Surgeon's Mate" December, 1795, to August, 1797, and as "Assistant Surgeon" September, 1797, to August, 1798. In reply to an application of August, 1797, it was decided that there were not "proper grounds for increasing the pay of Hospital Mate Gordon."

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promotion to a Nova Scotia Regiment seem to have had final effect as, on March 7, 1800, he was commissioned "Apothecary to the Forces" in Nova Scotia. The news of this appointment did not probably reach him till two or three months later. On August 11 he sold, for £12, one of the three lots of land which had been granted to him; on August 24, as we have seen, his position as "acting garrison surgeon" terminated; and early in September he and his family left Charlottetown for Halifax. Nor, with one important exception, were any of them ever to return. Gordon took up his work in Halifax on September 24, and for a time things seemed to be going better with him, but evil days were in store. He had apparently left Charlottetown owing some money, since at the instance of John Cambridge, merchant, a writ of execution was issued, June 20, 1801, for a debt of £81 17s. 6d. Gordon's house and land in Charlottetown were thus attached. Following fast upon this he committed some misdemeanour for which he was court-martialled at Halifax and, on December 14, 1801, was "adjudged to be suspended from rank and pay for six months." But misfortune still pursued him. In a letter sent from the War Office, May 5, 1802, is the following: "Mr. Winslow, agent for regimental Hospitals, having represented to this office that

Alexander Gordon

he has without effect repeatedly applied to Mr. Alexander Gordon, Apothecary to the Forces at Halifax, for repayment of £108 3s. which he drew upon him for on account of his pay as Hospital Mate at Prince Edward Island for a period subsequent to the date of his present appointment, I beg to acquaint you therewith and to request you will forthwith take the necessary steps for causing the pay of Mr. Gordon's present commission to be stopped until he shall have accounted for the above-mentioned sum." Furthermore, in less than six months the Hospital Forces were reduced in Halifax, and Gordon was put on half-pay on September 24, just two years after leaving Charlottetown, in the hope of bettering his fortunes!

What may have influenced Gordon's movements during the next few months when he would not have a cent of income from the army but would probably be a practising physician in Halifax, it is impossible to say; but tradition in the family has it, that Gordon left Halifax for his Scotland home (which he had not seen for more than seventeen years) in order to look after some small property. However this may be, it is nevertheless true that Gordon left Halifax for England early in 1803 and died on shipboard, leaving his widow and four children in "very distressing circumstances." His wife and sons had

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probably remained behind in Halifax, but it is most likely that he had his daughters, Mary and Margaret, with him.

On May 24, 1803, Lieut.-General Henry Bowyer wrote from Halifax to the War Office, on behalf of Mrs. Gordon and her children, praying a pension for Mrs. Gordon and a grant from the Compassionate Fund for the children. But it was pointed out that as Mr. Gordon had died on half-pay his widow could not be allowed a pension. However, on May 7, 1804, Gordon's four children were put on the Compassionate List for £6 each per annum.

It has been noticed that as Gordon was leaving Charlottetown he sold one of the three lots of land granted to him; how the "lot, on which St. James' Church now stands," passed from Gordon's hands cannot be discovered; concerning the third lot, "Common Lot No. 3 in the Royalty of Charlottetown," we have definite information. For, on May 26, 1795, Alexander Gordon "for and in consideration of the natural love and affection" he bore towards his "beloved son, Henry Gordon, and also in consideration of the sum of five shillings" made assignment to his son of Common Lot No. 3 (12 acres). Records also tell us that John Robbins (one of the New Jersey Loyalists) "for and in consideration of the Friendship and regard" he bore toward "Edward

Alexander Gordon

Gordon, son of Alexander Gordon," made over, on November 25, 1795, Common Lot No. 2 (12 acres). Henry and Edward Gordon could not have been more than four years and one year old respectively when the land was assigned to them; but it was no unusual thing on Prince Edward Island at that time for parents to convey and secure grants of land to their children when quite young.

It was on this Lot No. 3, which Gordon made over to his eldest son, that he built his house and lived. It was this property which was attached by a writ of execution for debt. It was sold by the sheriff on July 26, 1803, to Thomas Desbrisay for the sum of ninety pounds! The extent of the sacrifice of this property by its forced sale may be gathered from the fact that Desbrisay sold the property a few years later for £230.

Poor Gordon! When the news of his death reached Charlottetown and the sheriff sale was determined upon, Desbrisay probably engaged Chappell to inspect and report upon Gordon's place; hence the second entry in Chappell's Journal: "July 2, 1803, To-day Survey'd Dr. Gordon's house."

Almost exactly forty-eight years later Dr. Gordon's younger daughter returned to Charlottetown as the Governor's lady, and a friend still living tells how Lady Bannerman went to

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visit the house of her birth. It was a brick house, and has long since been torn down, although its site may still be pointed out. It stood about half a mile from Government House on a tract of land which stretched down to the York or North River. Looking from the windows of her house across the river and harbour Mrs. Gordon could easily have seen the house where she was born, and where her father as governor had resided.

According to tradition, Dr. Gordon's widow was a dressmaker in Halifax for some time. Whatever the truth of this may be, she was married there, at St. Paul's Church, on July 22, 1806, to George James Guthrie, surgeon of the 29th or Worcestershire Regiment of Foot, which was stationed at Halifax from August 29, 1802, to June 19, 1807.

Authorities.—*Old Day Book* kept, perhaps, by John Cambridge, for the period June 28, 1787, to August 12, 1788. This book was in the possession of the late John P. Tanton, of Charlottetown—Chappell's Journal—*Report made in 1819 by Lt.-Gov. C. D. Smith*, Can. Archives Dept., Ottawa—Marriage Licence Book, Govt. Offices, Charlottetown—St. Paul's Church registers, Charlottetown—Various deeds, etc., Record Office, Charlottetown—J. T. MELLISH, *Outlines of the History of Methodism in Charlottetown*, 1888—"Census of Inhabitants on the Island of Saint John taken in April, 1798" (CAMPBELL, *History of Prince Edward Island*, 1875, pp. 207-24)—(1) Notification Books; (2) Commission Book 1799-1800; (3) Compassionate Papers; (4) Out Letters and In

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Letters. Departmental, Medical, Secy. War, 1775-1803, 18 vols.; (5) W. O. 30, 84 Miscellaneous (*Army Medical Board Journal*) [Apothecary Gordon's memorial answered December 1, 1802]. All in Record Office, Chancery Lane, London—Brigade-Major's Order Books (1) December 23, 1783, to April, 1785, in Nova Scotia Archives; (2) August 23, 1802, to October 29, 1803, in the possession of George Fennerty, Esq., Halifax—Historical Manuscripts No. 9, Legislative Library, Halifax—"Muster Rolls of Loyalists, etc., who settled in P. E. I. in 1784" in Nova Scotia Archives—Registers, St. Paul's Church, Halifax—*Illustr. Hist. Atlas. P. E. I.*, 1880, pp. 139-40—(1) "MS. List of the Medical Staff, 1800"; (2) "List of Hospital Mates as they stand on December 25, 1786," etc.: Manuscripts in possession of Colonel Johnston, Murtle, Aberdeen—Private information from many sources.

CHAPTER III

LOGIE—DR. GORDON'S ANCESTORS

IT was only during the past summer that the discovery of Dr. Gordon's home and family was made. To be sure, Carlyle tells us that he was "of the Aberdeenshire Gordons," while further, the statement is made in several publications that he was from Logie. Still the information was far from definite since we have in Aberdeenshire Logie Buchan, Logie Colstone, Logie Durno, and Logie an estate in Crimond. Research has revealed that the last mentioned Logie was Gordon's home.

Crimond is a parish of about 4600 acres in the district of Buchan, Aberdeenshire, on the north-east corner of Scotland. It lies upon the coast nearly at an equal distance from Fraserburgh and Peterhead, and is some forty-five miles from Aberdeen. The estate of Logie is in the upper part of the parish and is of considerable extent. In 1746 the laird of Logie was said to have a rental of £260 sterling, with "a fine house." Nearly a hundred years later there were twenty-six tenants and the annual rental was

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£863 17s. Logie Loch, or Loch of Kinninmouth, is the name of a lake on the estate. It is some twenty acres in extent and is surrounded by low tracts of moss of a dreary and barren appearance. On the north-east side of Logie are the remains of a Druidical temple: the stones composing it of gigantic dimensions. It is probably from the presence of this temple that the estate took its name. For, as has been suggested, "Logie is said to be a Gaelic word signifying the lower part of a hollow glen or valley. The name is also applied to the ashes found at the bottom of a kiln; and, connected with Druidical circles, it is the 'place of utterance.'"

The estate of Logie came into the hands of the Gordons through John Hay, who on his death in 1673 left these lands to the three daughters of his sister. One of these daughters married James Gordon of Ardmeallie, who acquired the whole of Logie about 1708.¹ By means of references we have given the curious may trace the ancestors of this James Gordon back to the Adam de Gordon who was killed in 1093. From him sprang all the Gordons of Scotland.

James Gordon of Ardmeallie had a daughter, and three sons, Peter of Ardmeallie, Alexander of Logie, and James of Banchory. Alexander of Logie was Dr. Gordon's grandfather. He

¹ Cf. Appendix D.

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succeeded to Logie in Crimond before 1721 and married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Cumming of Crimond. They had a family of at least five daughters, and two sons, James Cumming, alias Gordon, and Robert of Logie.

During the ownership of Logie by Alexander Gordon the estate was very much encumbered, and we find he had on loan from his brother James of Banchory £11,200 Scots. In April, 1751, Alexander Gordon died, and on October 4, 1752, Robert served heir to his father. He joined the rebels at Edinburgh in 1745, and was one of those who were excepted by name from the general pardon of June, 1747. By 1752 he would seem to have adjusted his difficulties and married. He had at least two daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth,¹ and a son, Alexander, one of the principal subjects of our sketch. This son was probably born about 1753.

James Gordon of Banchory, brother of Alexander of Logie, was a merchant in Aberdeen. A daughter by his second marriage became the wife of Dr. (afterwards Sir) Alexander Bannerman, Professor of Medicine in King's College. He succeeded to the baronetcy of Elsick in 1796, and in turn his sons, Alexander and Charles, were the seventh and eighth baronets.² We thus see

¹ This daughter became Mrs. Usher, Margaret Gordon's foster mother. We consider her life in the next chapter.

² See Appendix D.



Eliza Usher

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that the seventh and eighth baronets of Elsick were second cousins of Dr. Alexander Gordon, son of Robert of Logie.

Besides another connection of the Bannermans with Logie, to which we shall refer later, it is of interest to know that Logie is now the property of the Bannermans, and is part of Lady Southesk's estate¹ of Crimonmogate. Robert Gordon sold Logie to Captain Robert Duff, who afterwards became known as Admiral Duff of Fetteresso. After passing through various hands, the estate was finally sold, in 1830, to Charles (afterwards Sir Charles) Bannerman, eighth Baronet Elsick. The rental of Logie at this date was £863 17s. The purchase price was, therefore, probably in the vicinity of £17,277 (twenty years' rental). Sir Charles Bannerman died in 1851.²

But what of Alexander, son of Robert Gordon of Logie, in his earlier life? Few additional facts are known. He was a student in Arts at

¹ Lady Southesk is a daughter of Sir Alexander Bannerman, ninth baronet.

² This year '51 has a further curiously fatal significance in connection with Logie; for in 1751 four of the Logie Gordon family died—Alexander, James of Banchory his brother, Margaret his daughter, and James Cumming, alias Gordon, his son. James Cumming seems to have been adopted by Robert Cumming of Birness, whose daughter, Barbara, he married in 1731. He became a physician and was known also as "Dr. James Gordon, of Straloch and Birness."

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Marischal College, Aberdeen, some time within the period 1763-7.¹ His home was sold before 1773, and with the small proceeds of the sale, after encumbrances had been paid off, a little place was purchased in Edinburgh. It was named *Logie*, and here we found Gordon visiting his mother and sister in 1785. It is not impossible that it was our Alexander Gordon who was a medical student at Edinburgh University in 1775, but, at any rate, we know that by 1776 he had become connected with the medical department of the Army. His later career we have already discussed.

The old house on the Logie estate, which is but a fragment of the estate of Crimonmogate, has been quite demolished. Some parts of the foundation remaining were a few years ago removed by Lord Carnegie, now the Earl of Southesk.

Altogether apart from Gordon or Bannerman connections, Logie is interesting as the scene of the beautiful and pathetic ballad "O Logie o' Buchan." "The hero of that song," says Rev. George Cruden, "was a gardener at Logie in Crimond about the middle of the last century; the heroine a good-looking little woman, whom

¹ About seventy years later his younger daughter lived in Aberdeen as the wife of the city's first M.P., who was also (1837) Dean of Marischal College.

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I have often seen in my early years, then married to a respectable farmer, and its author, said to be Mr. George Halket, a poetical musical genius, who taught a school in that neighbourhood, and whose rise in life was probably prevented by his Jacobitical principles. He is reputed to have written some of the popular songs that greatly aided the Pretender's cause in Scotland." The heroine of the ballad was Isobel Keith, who died in 1826 at the age of eighty-nine, and lies buried in Lonmay churchyard. The Jamie "that delv'd in the yard," the hero of the piece, was James Robertson, gardener. The incident is probably an episode of the warlike levies of the Rebellion.

Mr. Alexander Smith's version¹ of the ballad is as follows :—

¹ ALEX. SMITH, *New History of Aberdeenshire*, Aberdeen, 1885, p. 431. Slightly different versions are to be found in W. Minto's article on "Scotch Minor Song Writers in the Eighteenth Century" in Ward's *English Poets*, Vol. III, p. 492, and in *Scottish Song: A Selection of the Choicest Lyrics of Scotland*, edited by Mary Carlyle Aitken (Golden Treasury Series), London, 1874. A much earlier appearance, however, was in PETER BUCHAN, *Gleanings of Scotch and Irish Ballads*, 1825. The editor here states that the original "Logie o' Buchan" began

O woe to Kimmundy, Kimmundy the I did,
Wha's ta'en awa' Jamie that delv'd in the yard,
Wha's pluck'd oot the pears and the velds an' the
Kimmundy's ta'en hame, the flower o' the land.

The song and air seem to have first appeared in JAMES JOHNSON, *The Scots Musical Museum*, Vol. IV, pp. 368-9. Edinburgh and London, 1792.

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O Logie o' Buchan,¹ O Logie the laird,
They ha'e ta'en awa' Jamie, that delv'd in the yard,
Wha play'd on the pipe, and the viol sae sma' ;
They ha'e ta'en awa' Jamie, the flower o' them a'.

He said, Think na' lang, lassie, tho' I gang awa' ;
He said, Think na' lang, lassie, tho' I gang awa' ;
The simmer is come, and the winter's awa',
And I'll come and see thee in spite o' them a'.

Tho' Sandy has ousen, and siller, and kye ;
A house and a hadden,² and a' things forbye :
Yet I'd tak' my ain lad, wi' his staff in his hand,
Before I'd ha'e him, wi' the houses and land.
He said, Think na lang, lassie, etc.

My daddie looks sulky, my minnie looks sour,
They frown upon Jamie because he is poor ;
But daddie and minnie, altho' that they be,
There's nane o' them a' like my Jamie to me.
He said, Think na lang, lassie, etc.

I sit on my creepie,³ I spin at my wheel,
I think on my Jamie that lo'es me sae weel ;
He had but ae saxpence, he brack it in twa,
And gi'ed me the hauf o't when he gaed awa'.
Then haste ye back, Jamie, and bide na awa',
Then haste ye back, Jamie, and bide na awa',
The simmer is come, and the winter's awa',
And ye'll come and see me in spite o' them a'.

¹ This is *not* Logie Buchan, but Logie *in* Crimond, *in* Buchan. "The Boat of Logie" is a well-known song having reference to Logie Buchan. "The Lass of Logie" and "Logie" or "The Wedded Waters," probably do not refer to either place.

² Holding.

³ Low stool.

Logie—Dr. Gordon's Ancestors

In the only undoubted publication of Halket "there is nothing," writes Mr. Bayne, "suggestive of the romantic tenderness, the cheerful and resolute self-dependence, the lyric grace of Logie o' Buchan. Halket is credited with this poem, but there is a total lack of evidence on the point. As, however, there is no one else of the period to whom it can be assigned, it is just possible that the poem is his, and, at any rate, his claims are supported by a persistent tradition and by the weighty surmise of Peter Buchan."

Authorities.—*Illustr. Lond. News*, Jan. 7, 1865, 46, 23, "Alex. Bannerman"—*Hereford Times*, March 16, 1867, "Richard Dawes"—*Gent.'s Mag.*, May, 1867, 671-5—*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "R. Dawes"—Capt. D. WIMBERLEY, *Memorials of Four Old Families*, "Gordons of Lesnoir"—S. LEWIS, *Topogr. Dict. Scotland*, London, 1846—WILSON, *Imp. Gazetteer Scot.*—*Buchan*, by J. B. PRATT, fourth edition, revised by R. Anderson, 1901, pp. 243-4—*House of Gordon*, ed. J. M. BULLOCH, Vol. I, "Cochlarachie," by Rev. S. Ree (New Spalding Club Publ.)—*List of Rebels*, Scot. Hist. Soc., p. 305—Various documents in the Sheriff's Court, Aberdeen, in the years 1731, 1751, 1780—*Aberdeen Journal*, Aug. 30, 1790; Aug. 4, 1824—Aberdeen Commissariat, General Reg. House, 1753—Banff Burial Register, 1824—W. F. SKENE, *Memorials of the Family of Skene* (New Spalding Club)—*New Statist. Account of Scotland*, Vol. XII, Edinb. 1845, p. 812, "Logie Buchan," by Rev. GEORGE CRUDEN—LONGFELLOW, *Poems of Places*, Scotland—*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. "G. Halket," by T. Bayne—*Records of Marischal College*, Vol. II, p. 334—*Gent.'s Mag.*, June, 1747—CHAMBERS, *Rebellion of 1745-6*, seventh edition, p. 482—BURKE, *Peerage*, "Banner-mar"—Private information from a variety of sources.

Carlyle's First Love

Note.—Rev. Mr. Ree, in his "Coclarachie," states (p. 29) that "Robert Gordon of Logie had twin sons and a daughter." He then gives considerable information about the alleged sons, James "born at Milton of Drum," and "farmer at Logie in Crimond," and Alexander "student in Arts at Marischal College, Aberdeen, 1763-7," who was a doctor, and author of a medical work of considerable importance. But James and Alexander were twin sons of *Alexander Gordon, of Milton of Drum* (Peterculter Parish Register). Mr. Ree evidently fell into error through the fact that James Gordon occupied one of the many farms on the Logie Estate, and *on this farm* Alexander Gordon died. It is not a little curious that Robert Gordon had a son Alexander who was *also* a doctor, but *of Logie*.

CHAPTER IV

DOCTOR GORDON'S CHILDREN— MRS. USHER

MISFORTUNE seemed to beset Dr. Gordon's pathway after he had left Charlotte-town; and during many months before he left Halifax for England he received no remuneration for his services in the army. It is then not unlikely, that his younger sister Elizabeth Usher who was a "widow and childless" and living in Kirkcaldy, had offered to relieve him of the care of his daughters Mary and Margaret; and that he, with a view to some way bettering his lot, which could not well be worse, was on his way to Scotland with his daughters in the early winter of 1803, when he died.¹ Margaret would then be four and a half years old, while Mary would be three years her senior, when they were adopted by their aunt Mrs. Usher.

Meanwhile the boys Henry and Edward were

¹ In Somerset House, London, may be seen the will, proved in November, 1803, of an *Alexander Gordon* who had a daughter *Margaret*. He was, however, a sergeant in the 92nd Regiment of Foot and died in 1799.

Carlyle's First Love

with their mother in Halifax. Through the kind offices of General Bowyer, all four children, were placed on the Compassionate List, and the first payment was made in 1805. Henry's allowance was stopped with the payment in 1810 as he had reached the age limit of eighteen years. Edward's grant ceased with the payment in 1811. The grants to the girls were continued at least a dozen years longer.

By 1811 Edward Gordon was a midshipman in the British Navy. He had become a volunteer on the *Cleopatra* at the Halifax station, and he was midshipman on the *Cleopatra* in the West Indies during the capture of Martinique. In the succeeding years he was lieutenant on several ships, till finally on June 27, 1827, he was appointed commanding officer of the *Alcorn*, a sloop of 18 guns and 115 men. In a terrible hurricane on April 14, 1828, this ship was lost on the Halifax station, off the coast of Bermuda, with all hands on board.¹ Edward Gordon was a great favourite of his sister Margaret and she used to speak of him frequently. After their parting in Halifax,

¹ The dates of Edward Gordon's record are as follows: Volunteer of the First Class, June 18, 1807; Midshipman on the *Cleopatra* in the West Indies, November 11, 1809-September 27, 1810; Midshipman, *Gueniere*, Coast of America, September 28, 1810-January 20, 1811; Master's Mate on *Cleopatra*, North Sea and Gibraltar, June 21, 1811 February

Dr. Gordon's Children—Mrs. Usher

as children, they were next to meet in London about 1820.

Concerning Edward's brother, Henry, practically nothing further is known. There are some vague family traditions about him, but there is no evidence that they have any foundation in fact. Although he was alive in 1810, it would seem that he had died before November 7, 1817, for in a document of this date,¹ in the handwriting of his aunt Mrs. Usher, is the following reference to the brothers: "One of the boys being dead and the other able to provide for himself at sea." Let us now refer more particularly to Mrs. Usher.

Nothing is known of her earlier life, but in the Kinghorn Parish Register we find, "The Revd. Mr. John Usher, Minister of this Parish and Elizabeth Gordon in St. Andrew's Parish, New Town, Edinbr. having declared their purpose of marriage the same was published and they were married 11th Decr. 1795." Miss Gordon was probably living at her home, Logie, at this time. No children resulted from this union

24, 1813; Lieutenant, *Barossa*, Coast of America and West Indies, June 30, 1813–October 2, 1815; Lieutenant, *Ontario*, Jamaica, July 15, 1818; Lieutenant, *Jaseur*, Plymouth and Halifax, February 3, 1821; Lieutenant, *Sybilie*, Jamaica and the Mediterranean, July 1, 1823; Commander, Junr. Rank, June 3, 1826.

¹ Cf. Appendix I.

Carlyle's First Love

and Mr. Usher died in 1799.¹ He wrote the account of the "Town and Parish of Kinghorn" in Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, and he tells us there that his stipend consisted of "3 chalders of victuel, half meal, half bear, and £58 6s. 8d. [Scots] in money together with 4 loads of coal"—much the same form of salary as paid nowadays. His widow, Mrs. Usher, gave for confirmation the statement that the total "value of the household furniture and other effects" belonging to her husband was £31 1 1! Thus, after four years of married life Mrs. Usher was left in circumstances which were certainly no improvement over those before her marriage.

As the widow of a deceased clergyman of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, she received an annual pension. In 1800 this only amounted to little over £17. Between 1804 and 1820 the amounts varied from £28 to £34. In the next years the pension was increased, first to £40, then to £46. These pensions were paid, with one or two exceptions, down to 1820 in Kirkealdy, indicating that this was Mrs. Usher's place of residence after her husband's death. But in 1820 the pension was paid at Paisley, and in 1821, at Chelsea, England, for reasons which shall presently appear.

¹ Mr. Usher was licensed by the Presbytery December 22, 1779, and was ordained to the Parish of Kinghorn, September 21, 1780. He married first, Jean Charter, June 1, 1785, she died MAY 8, 1790. Elizabeth Gordon was his second wife.



Dr. Gordon's Children—Mrs. Usher

For the next three years Mrs. Usher was living in or near Edinburgh. Then from 1825 to the day of her death, by apoplexy, on February 16, 1838, she was a resident of Aberdeen, at the home of her niece and adopted daughter Margaret Gordon, who had married a Mr. Bannerman. In the Pension Office of Ministers' Widows, Edinburgh, may be seen a document of which the following is an extract: "Edinburgh, 30 June, 1838. Received by me Margaret Gordon sole executrix and universal legatee (appointed by will, dated 25 October, 1814¹) of Elizabeth Gordon widow of John Usher . . . and by me Alexander Bannerman, Esq., M.P., husband of the said Margaret Gordon for all interest that I may have from the . . . General Collector of the Ministers' Widows Fund, the sum of twenty-three pounds sterling being half year's annuity due to Mrs. Elizabeth Gordon or Usher from said fund in consequence of her having survived the 22nd day of November last. . . ." The signatures to this document are of interest and no doubt unique:

Margaret Gordon or Bannerman
A. Bannerman

¹ Margaret Gordon was scarcely sixteen years of age at this time.

Carlyle's First Love

Mrs. Usher is buried in St. Nicholas Churchyard, Aberdeen, and a large flat stone, with railing around it, marks her grave. The inscription is as follows: "Sacred / to the Memory of / Eliza Usher / Widow of the Reverend / John Usher and Daughter / of Robert Gordon Esqr. / of Logie who died / 16th February 1838 / in the 80th year of her age." She was therefore born in 1759.

Mrs. Usher adopted both Margaret and Mary Helen Gordon. To postpone for the moment the consideration of their earlier life, we may briefly refer to the later life of the latter. Some eighteen months before the death of her aunt, Mary was married¹ to Richard Dawes, graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, fourth wrangler, Fellow and Mathematical Tutor of Downing College. In the year of his marriage Mr. Dawes was appointed rector of King's Somborne, Hampshire. He founded there the school which was opened in October, 1842, and which under his personal management became a great success. "King's Somborne School was visited as a model establishment by all who were interested in popular education, and it was the fame acquired in connection with it which caused Lord

¹ *Publ. Harleian Soc.*, Registers, St. George's, Hanover Square, London: "1836, Sept. 21, The Rev. Richard Dawes, Clark, Vicar of Tadlow, Co. Cambridge, B. & Mary Helen Gordon Guthrie S. Licence."

Dr. Gordon's Children—Mrs. Usher

John Russell to present Dawes to the Deanery of Hereford." This was on May 15, 1850, and he held the office up to the day of his death.

The Dean and his wife—they had no children—are buried side by side in the Lady Arbour of the Cathedral. Around the upper part of the tomb is the inscription: "The remains of Richard Dawes, A.M., Dean of Hereford, born May 4th 1793 / Died March 6th 1867 / Also of Mary Helen Dawes His wife born December 12th 1801, Died January 15th 1892 / in this tomb are interred."¹

For the last forty years of her life Mrs. Dawes was a resident of Hereford, and for over twenty years was with her half-sister Miss Guthrie (of whom more in our next chapter) at *The Poole*, one of the most beautiful places on the outskirts of Hereford. It was here she died. Her burial was an elaborate affair, and there were many mourners and floral tributes.

One of her friends still living writes: "Mrs.

¹ Mrs. Dawes was not born on "December 12th 1801," but on September 23, 1795, as the records of St. Paul's Church in Charlottetown fully prove. She was thus in her ninety-seventh year and not in her ninety-third (as the records at Somerset House also have it) when she succumbed to an attack of influenza lasting a little over two weeks. The dates of the Dean's birth and death are also incorrect. For he was baptized April 13, 1793, and died March 10, 1867. Moreover, Mrs. Dawes died on January 19, not 15.

Carlyle's First Love

Dawes was thought to be a great beauty in her day, but was of a different type to her sister Margaret, who was fair. Mrs. Dawes was dark. I remember her ever since I was seven years old. She, too, was very queenly and had a beautiful figure. Just before her death I was at a dinner-party at *The Poole* and she looked then about forty, and she must have been over ninety years old. She was always kind and sympathetic, and I owe very much to her kind teaching when she was at King's Somborne, and *many besides myself* will remember her lifework done in that neglected parish; but it was a work of love both to her and to her husband. . . . Many men and women owe their prosperity to Rev. Richard Dawes, Vicar of King's Somborne."

A member of the family recalls that "Mrs. Dawes was of a distinctly gipsy cast, coal-black hair with, what was a peculiar feature, gray eyes. As a young girl she was very handsome. Almost up to the day of her death, she was as straight and upright and active as a young girl of sixteen. She was never sick a day in her life until her last illness, and was never known to use other than the old-fashioned straight-backed chair." After meeting Mrs. Dawes before her marriage in 1821, Edward Irving referred to her as a "gay, fashionable, right-hearted girl." Our portrait of her was taken about 1867, shortly after



Dr. Gordon's Children—Mrs. Usher

the Dean's death—when she was seventy-two years old. There was a strong resemblance between Mrs. Dawes and Mrs. Usher's portrait, while Mrs. Dawes' profile view was almost the exact image of the silhouette of her father. She used to refer very frequently to her "old aunt" (Mrs. Usher). "My old aunt would not have thought of allowing" this or that, she would say.

Mrs. Usher adopted her nieces Margaret and Mary in 1803,¹ and she lived in Kirkcaldy—though just where in the "lang toon" her home was situated is unknown. It seems probable that she supported herself and her nieces and educated them on the slender annual income of £12 from the Compassionate Fund and the small pension which, as widow of a Scotch clergyman, she would receive. Mrs. Usher evidently found it difficult to get along, for in November, 1817, she applied to the Secretary of War for an additional grant on behalf of her two nieces, "who are now at a time² requiring all my endeavours to place them in a situation to procure their own livelihood." Two pounds additional grant was made to each of the girls

¹ Cf. Appendix E; Mrs. Usher here states: "Since that period [1803] the two female children have been under my care."

² Mary was twenty-two and Margaret nineteen years of age.

Carlyle's First Love

annually, beginning with 1818. Mrs. Usher again appealed for further aid,¹ April 29, 1820, stating that the two daughters were still supported by the petitioner except for the £8 per annum grant from the Compassionate Fund, her own annuity as the widow of a Scottish clergyman being £33 per annum. "She finds herself from the advanced rate of every necessary of life and other circumstances quite unable to maintain them on this limited allowance and humbly solicits a small augmentation from Compassionate Fund to that already granted." Mrs. Usher was informed in May, 1820, of an additional grant of £2 to each of the sisters. Thus for sixteen years aunt and nieces were, to say the least, in narrow circumstances, their income from pensions being only £45 for the greater part of this time.

At first thought it would seem strange that the mother of the girls and the stepfather, Dr. Guthrie, could not or did not render them any assistance. But Dr. Guthrie's pay as army surgeon was not large—while further, he had his own wife and child to support and was retired on half-pay in 1814. In 1815 the Duke of York offered him a knighthood which he declined owing to lack of means. It would thus be some time before he got started on his distinguished

¹ See Appendix E.

Dr. Gordon's Children—Mrs. Usher

career in London. By 1820 he must have been in more comfortable circumstances, for on July 4, 1820 Mrs. Usher and her nieces set sail from Glasgow for London, where they were to spend "a twelve month" with Dr. Guthrie, whose family then consisted of Anne L., Charles W. G., and Lewry. It is unlikely that Mary and Margaret ever again lived in Kirkcaldy. Before marriage they were addressed just as frequently by the name Guthrie as the name Gordon, and indeed, as we have already seen, Mary was married as "Mary Helen Gordon *Guthrie*."

Margaret Gordon's life will be treated more in detail later.

Authorities.—Manuscripts, Record Office, Chancery Lane, London: (1) Register Comp. Allowances, 1773-92, 1793-1812; (2) Bundle of Applications, etc., 1806-15; (3) Comp. Papers, 1812-13, No. 656; (4) Comp. Register, 1813; (5) List of Persons to be Discon. on Comp. List for 1814; (6) Applications of Mrs. Usher (given in full, Appendix E); (7) Abstract of Appl. for the Comp. Allowances, 1807-25; (8) Misc. for Comp. List, 1803; (9) Services of Sea Lieutenants—W. L. CLOWES, *The Royal Navy*, VI, 505—WM. O. S. GILLY, *List of Shipwrecks of the Royal Navy 1793-1850*, p. 313—*Navy List*, 1828—Separate Register of the Presby. of Kirkcaldy—Records of the Presby. of Kirkcaldy—HEW SCOTT, *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticæ*, Vol. II, part 2, Edinb., 1869—*Scot's Mag.*, Vol. LXI, p. 909—Receipts in Ministers' Widows' Pension Office, Edinburgh—*Aberdeen Journal*, Feb. 28, 1838—*Aberdeen Herald*, March 3, 1838—Commissariat St. Andrews: "John Usher." Register House, Edinburgh—*Hereford Times*, Jan.

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23. 30, 1892—*Hereford Mercury*, Jan. 27, 1892—Irving's Letter to Carlyle, July 10, 1820, in possession of Mr. Alexander Carlyle, Edinburgh—*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Dawes, Richard," "Guthrie, George James"—Private information from a variety of sources.

CHAPTER V

DOCTOR GEORGE JAMES GUTHRIE AND HIS FAMILY

AFTER Alexander Gordon had died in the winter of 1803, his widow, Margaret (Patterson) Gordon, probably continued to live in Halifax with her two sons Henry and Edward; but here in 1806 she married George James Guthrie, who was surgeon of the 29th Regiment, which arrived at Halifax four years before. Family tradition has it that Gordon and Guthrie were in the same regiment, but this is wholly impossible; and indeed it would be quite possible for them never to have met. Gordon was put on half-pay within two weeks of Guthrie's arrival in Halifax; and he left Halifax for England early in the winter. Had Gordon been returning home on account of ill-health, of course Guthrie may have been called in. But Gordon would then be about fifty and Guthrie seventeen years of age, and we can hardly imagine strong friendship springing up between them, although tradition also avers that Gordon left his family in

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Guthrie's care. Guthrie, who was "descended from an old Forfarshire family, one of whose members settled in Wexford," was born in London on May 1, 1785. In June, 1800, when only fifteen years old, he was appointed hospital mate and in March, 1801, commissioned assistant surgeon to the 29th Regiment, which a year later was sent to Canada. Guthrie was appointed surgeon to his regiment March 20, 1806. Four months later—when he was twenty-one and his bride about thirty-four—he was married at St. Paul's Church. Here also, their first child Ann Leonora, born March 16, was baptized on May 31, 1807.

It has been already remarked that Dr. Gordon's son Edward became a volunteer of the first class on the *Cleopatra* at the Halifax Station on June 18, 1807. The next day his mother and stepfather left Halifax with the 29th Regiment, which was called to England. It was quartered near Deal until January of the following year, when it was sent to participate in the Peninsular War. Dr. Guthrie was in service (except for an interval in 1810) from 1808 till early in 1814,¹ when he returned to London. In

¹ In 1808 Dr. Guthrie was present with his regiment at Roliça and Vimiero, and in 1809 at the passage of the Douro and battle of Talavera; but in January, 1810, he was appointed Surgeon to the Forces, on the Hospital Staff. He always looked on this battle of Albuera as *the* battle of the war.



Anne L. Gulliver

Dr. George James Guthrie and Family

September of this year he was put on half-pay and lived in London for the rest of his life.¹ On October 10, 1814, his son Lowry² was born; and at the end of the year was published his celebrated work on gunshot wounds, which passed through several editions and was translated into German. In this work he dealt particularly with wounds of the limbs requiring amputation, and advocated immediate operation on the battlefield. In the Peninsular War Guthrie took principal charge of the wounded at many important battles and gained the Duke of Wellington's special commendation. Indeed, in later life, the Duke was an intimate friend and frequent visitor at his house in Berkeley Street. At Oporto, Dr. Guthrie captured a French gun single-handed, mightily to the amusement of Sir John Sherbrooke.

¹ In 1814 he lived at Jermyn Street, but the next year made his home at No. 4 (before 1840 this house was No. 2) Berkeley Street, Berkeley Square, Piccadilly, from which he never changed. Pope lived at No. 9 Berkeley Street, and presented the lease of it to Martha Blount.

² He graduated from Cambridge University, B.A., 1837; M.A., 1840; and was appointed rector of Cranley, Surrey, in 1844. He married a daughter of Professor Thomas Starkie, of Cambridge, and died at Downing College, January 2, 1848, leaving his wife and a daughter, Margaret Lucy, whose husband was the late Major-General W. A. Gillespie. Lowry Guthrie was a great favourite, and beloved by everyone who knew him. It is said that his father never got over the shock of his death and refused a Baronetcy, since it could no longer descend to his favourite son.

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During his connection with the Army he was much impressed by the great loss to the nation through diseases of the eye, which, arising from the massing of men together in badly ventilated ships and barracks, often rendered whole regiments unserviceable. Consequently in 1816 the Royal Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital was founded by Dr. Guthrie under the auspices of Lord Lynedoch. Here students in surgery, and particularly the officers of the public service (Medical Officers of the Army, Navy, and East India Company) could obtain instruction in the diseases of the eye free of charge, and here annually, up to the present day, this institution has afforded relief to thousands of "indigent persons." It was in this year 1816, on April 6, that Dr. Guthrie's second son, Charles William Gardiner, was born.

Dr. Guthrie was elected assistant surgeon to the Westminster Hospital in 1823, and full surgeon in 1827. In 1843 he resigned to make way for his son Charles as assistant surgeon. In 1824 he became a member of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, of which he was President in 1833, 1841, and 1854. He died on his seventy-first birthday, and was buried at Kensal Green by the side of his wife and his beloved son Lowry.

Dr. Guthrie's house, which is still standing,



Dr. George James Guthrie and Family

was the resort during the first half of the nineteenth century of many of the most celebrated people of the time. Sir Shafter Adair of Adair House, Lady Belcher of Cumberland Terrace, Lord Crewe, Sedgwick, Farraday, Whewell, Lady Blessington and her son-in-law Count D'Orsay, Baron Larry, Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick), and a host of others were among them. On the seventh of every February Dr. Guthrie was accustomed to have a great dinner (called the Albuera Dinner) in celebration of the battle of Albuera at which he won a medal. The guests on these occasions were all the old officers such as Sir Lowry Coles, Sir Collin Halbret, Sir James Kempt,¹ and the Duke of Wellington.

It would be out of place here to consider Guthrie's medical work in detail. He gave free lectures on surgery for thirty years, 1816-46, and many of these, as well as papers, were published in various medical journals. He is also the author of a large number of books and pamphlets. Indeed Guthrie was one of the most eminent surgeons of the nineteenth century and was much in advance of his time. Some of his teachings

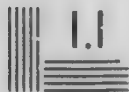
¹ Sir James Kempt was Governor of Nova Scotia 1819-January, 1829, and Governor of Canada 1829-30 (Boase). Curiously enough, "F VII" is the date inscribed on the medal, although the battle took place on *May 16*, 1811.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART



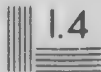
1.0



1.1



1.25



1.4



1.6

2.5

2.2

2.0



1.8



2.8

Carlyle's First Love

were closely followed, and with great success, in the Japanese War of 1904.

"Guthrie had an active and robust frame and keen, energetic features, with remarkably piercing black eyes. He was shrewd, quick, and sometimes inconsiderate in speech. His Hunterian Oration in 1830, delivered without note, halt, or mistake, was a notable success. His somewhat brusque military manner concealed much kind-heartedness, and although dreaded as an examiner, he never rejected a candidate by his unsupported vote. His lectures were very popular, being interspersed with many anecdotes and illustrative cases. As an operator his coolness and delicacy of hand were of the highest order."

Dr. Guthrie's granddaughter considers that by far the best portrait of her grandfather is the one drawn by Count D'Orsay in 1840. This is reproduced on another page. A miniature by George Eastman is shown in the National Gallery.

Mrs. Guthrie was probably living in England all the time that her husband was serving in the Peninsular War. It would of course be only natural if she visited her relatives of Foxhall and Buncrana Castle, in Ireland, or her daughters in Kirkcaldy, but of this we know nothing. She lived on till September 18, 1846, when she died after a brief illness in the seventy-fifth year of her

Dr. George James Guthrie and Family

age.¹ A lady in Oxford recalls that Mrs. Guthrie "was very tall like her two daughters, Lady Bannerman and Mrs. Dawes—a beautiful upright figure." In her later years paralysis affected one side of her face.

Finally we come to Anne Leonora Guthrie, who was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia. We shall find that she was one of the central figures in Lady Bannerman's life-story. She lived with her father, whom she idolized, all through his life. It is said that many people, among them the famous Louis Blanc,² "found her very interesting," but she appeared to prefer to remain with her father. She is referred to by Edward Irving, after a visit to Berkeley Street in 1821, as "a good deal of a humorist," and if we judged alone from the miniature painted about this time, we could easily believe the characterization a true one.

Shortly after Dean Dawes' death Miss Guthrie went to Hereford. She purchased *The Poole*, and after remodelling and fitting it up she and

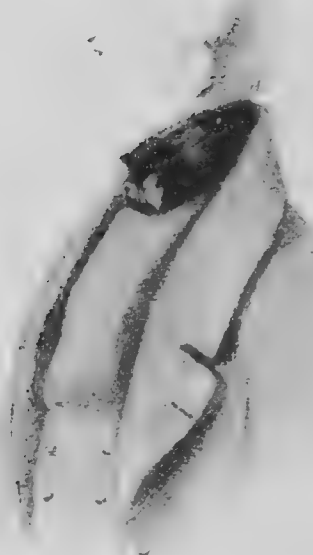
¹ Her son Charles reported her age to Somerset House as sixty five. At this rate she would have been *ten* years old when she was first married! She was probably born in 1772.

Louis Blanc (1813-82) lived in exile in London, 1849-70. When an attempt was made to assassinate him in Paris in 1839, his brother Charles Blanc had a vivid presentiment of the scene, an incident on which Dumas founded the play of *The Corsican Brothers*.

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Mrs. Dawes went there to live, and here they both remained for the rest of their lives. Mrs. Dawes, as we have seen, died in 1892, aged ninety-six. Miss Guthrie died on the 29th of March, 1893, aged eighty-six. She rests in St. Martin's churchyard, Hereford. *The Times* (Hereford) refers to Miss Guthrie as follows:—

"By the death of Miss Ann Leonora Guthrie of The Poole . . . the residents of a wide area have lost from their midst a true Christian, a noble philanthropist, and a warm-hearted and generous friend. This good lady, whom to know was to esteem, breathed her last on the afternoon of Wednesday. Miss Guthrie as the hostess of her father's house in Berkeley Street, London, was noted for the fact of her house being the resort of some of the most prominent public men of the day. . . . Miss Guthrie was always one of the most welcome visitors, for she was celebrated even in London for her wit, repartee, and goodness of heart; and while in Hereford, notwithstanding the companion infirmities of advanced age, this reputation continued to the last. . . . In the management of the Royal Ophthalmic Hospital, founded by her father, Miss Guthrie took a most lively and active interest—indeed, it was the work to which probably more than any other she was personally attached. . . . Locally Miss Guthrie was well known.



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There was not a worthy undertaking or institution to which her generous heart and liberal pocket were not opened, while in many objects she lent her further assistance by personal patronage, and it is not an exaggeration to say that she distributed the whole of her income among her neighbours, preference always being given in the case of domestic and other requirements to the tradesmen of the neighbourhood. Although of late years she was deaf and almost blind her energy and genial temperament never left her."

In spite of large losses Miss Guthrie left an estate valued at £30,000.

Authorities.—Registers, St. Paul's Church, Halifax, N. S.—Return of Officers' Services, 1828, Record Office, London—*D. & Nat. Biog.*, "G. J. Guthrie"—Annual Register, 1846–56—H. EVERARD, *Hist. Thos. Farrington's Regt., subsequently designated 29th Regt. of Foot, 1694 to 1897*, Worcester, 1891, pp. 262, 265, 271, 566—*Case of the Royal Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital at Charing Cross*, circular dated 1852; Report, 1908—Records, Somerset House, London—*Lancet*, 1850, Vol. I, pp. 726–36—Coffin Plates, Guthrie Catacomb, Kensal Green—*Clergy List*, 1845—*Gent.'s Mag.*, January, 1844, Vol. XXII, p. 85; May, 1846, Vol. XXV, p. 534; April, 1848, Vol. XXIX, p. 445; April, 1845, Vol. XXIII, p. 421; November, 1846, Vol. XXVI, p. 550—*Hereford Times*, April 1, 8, 1893—LIONEL CUST, *The National Portrait Gallery*, London, 1902, Vol. II, p. 165—*Times*, London, September 21, 1846; November 24, 1845; October 4, 1855—BOASE, *Modern English Biog.*, "L. Blanc."—Private information from a variety of sources.

PART II

CHAPTER I

MARGARET GORDON AND
THOMAS CARLYLE

IN the autumn of 1816 occurred an event of great importance to Carlyle, his removal from the Academy at Annan to the mastership of a school in Kirkcaldy, the "lang toon" by the seashore. Here for the first time he was to come into intimate contact with a rare intellectual companion and friend. "Irving was four [*sic*] years my senior," writes Carlyle,¹ "the *facile princeps* for success and reputation among the Edinburgh students, famed mathematician, famed teacher, first at Haddington, then here, a flourishing man whom cross fortune was beginning to nibble at. He received me with open arms, and was a brother to me and a friend there and elsewhere afterwards—such a friend as I never had again or before in this world, at heart constant till he died."

¹ FROUDE, *Life*, N. Y., 1897, I, 34.

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Irving was master of the Kirkcaldy Grammar School, but complaints of undue severity were rife, and former supporters of the school resolved to invite another teacher to the town. In this way Carlyle was chosen as "an apostle of indulgence," to take charge of the "opposition" school. Yet Irving received him "with open arms." Those who had engaged the new teacher must have been confounded by the intimacy which immediately sprang up between these two remarkable young men. They walked together and had "glorious colloquies" on the beach at Kirkcaldy, "a mile of the smoothest sand." "But for Irving I had never known what the communion of man with man means," Carlyle tells us.

Of the many pictures of Kirkcaldy life and people which Carlyle has drawn, none are of greater interest than the following sketch illustrating his life of Irving:—

"Some hospitable human firesides I found, and these were at intervals a fine little element; but in general we were but onlookers (the one real 'Society' our books and our few selves);—not even with the bright 'young ladies' (what was a sad feature) were we generally on speaking terms. By far the cleverest and brightest, however, an Ex-pupil of Irving's, and genealogically and otherwise (being poorish, proud, and well bred) rather

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a kind of alien in the place, I did at last make acquaintance with (at Irving's first, I think, though she rarely came thither); some acquaintance;—and it might easily have been more, had she, and her Aunt, and our economic and other circumstances liked! She was of the fair-complexioned, softly elegant, softly grave, witty and comely type, and had a good deal of gracefulness, intelligence and other talent. Irving too, it was sometimes thought, found her very interesting, could the Miss-Martin bonds have allowed, which they never would. To me, who had only known her for a few months, and who within a twelve or fifteen months saw the last of her, she continued for perhaps some three years a figure hanging more or less in my fancy, on the usual romantic, or latterly quite elegiac and silent terms, and to this day there is in me a good will to her, a candid and gentle pity for her, if needed at all. She was of the Aberdeenshire Gordons, a far-off Huntly I doubt not; 'Margaret Gordon,' born I think in New Brunswick, where her father, probably in some official post, had died young and poor,—her *accent* was prettily English, and her voice very fine:—an aunt (widow in Fife, childless, with limited resources, but of frugal cultivated turn; a lean, proud elderly dame, once a 'Miss Gordon' herself, sang Scotch songs beautifully, and talked shrewd *Aberdeenish* in accent



Margaret Gordon and Thomas Carlyle and otherwise I adopted her and brought her hither over seas, and here as Irving's pupil, she now cheery though with dim outlooks, was. Irving saw her again in Glasgow, one summer, touring, etc., he himself accompanying joyfully, *not* joining (so I understood it) the retinue of *suitors* or potential ditto; rather perhaps indicating gently, 'No, I must not!' for the last time."

It was not until the autumn of 1818, two years after he had been in Kirkcaldy, that Carlyle was first introduced to Margaret Gordon.¹ Within the next few weeks they probably met frequently, but late in November of this year Irving, and Carlyle who thought "that it were better to perish than to continue school mastering," left "melodiously interesting" Kirkcaldy for Edinburgh. During the next twelve or fifteen months, Carlyle was no doubt more than once a visitor in Kirkcaldy at the home of Margaret Gordon. But record of only one such visit has been handed down, and this in one of the two letters still preserved (there were probably never any others) which Miss Gordon wrote to Carlyle. A remarkable fragment of one of these letters was printed by Froude in his *History of Carlyle's Early Life*. Although this short printed

¹ Mr. Alex. Carlyle is my authority for this statement.

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fragment contains nearly two score of alterations, it is still apparent, when taken in connection with the passage from the *Reminiscences* above quoted, that Carlyle was in love with Margaret Gordon, and that she was a girl "who must have been possessed of rare insight to recognize so accurately the gifts and the genius, the strength and the weakness of the obscure young school-master who had not yet written a line." That Margaret Gordon was in love with Carlyle is by no means evident; but their more exact relations will appear from what follows.

Let us recall Margaret and her circumstances at the time of her first meeting with Carlyle. She was a young woman of nineteen while he was nearly three years her senior. For fourteen years (with the possible exception of a short time spent in Edinburgh and some brief visits elsewhere) she had been a resident of Kirkcaldy at the home of her aunt and adopted mother, Mrs. Usher. This aunt had most carefully trained her and given her all the advantages that the Grammar School could afford. Under Irving she had studied mathematics and probably obtained her excellent knowledge of French. She also had "a thorough knowledge of Latin." Aided by a receptive intellect and a remarkably retentive memory she readily acquired a good education. Beautiful and attractive, in those

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early days, with her deep blue eyes, fair hair, and beautiful figure, her intelligence, grace, and animation of expression, she certainly was, "Proud," too, of her various family connections, in particular of the Gordons of Logie, although Carlyle's surmised connection with the Huntlys was indeed "far off." She was truly "rather a kind of alien in the place."

Carlyle's characterization "poorish" we can well understand. It will be recalled that at the time when he first met Margaret Gordon, the aunt and the nieces were living on an income of less than fifty pounds a year; and that eighteen months later, on April 29, 1820, Mrs. Usher wrote to the War Office that "she finds herself from the advanced rate of every necessary of life and other circumstances unable to maintain" her nieces. "A small augmentation" of her "limited allowance" was made, and this no doubt, helped her to achieve the independence which her proud spirit demanded. She was, however, very little longer called upon to support her nieces, for in about two months she accompanied them to London, where they were to live with Dr. Guthrie till they were married. It was in March, or before April 20, 1820, that Carlyle saw the last of Margaret as Miss Gordon. In May, aunt and nieces left Kirkcaldy, the aunt and Mary to visit friends in Paisley and Margaret to remain for a number of weeks in or

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near a place called Palace Craig,¹ about a mile and a half south-east from Airdrie, on the Monkland Canal. With whom she was staying here is unknown, although it is said that she paid a visit to the Lockharts of Lee, near Lanark, about this time. She saw Irving frequently, and, indeed, they with two others made a tour in the Highlands. In writing to Carlyle on July 10, Irving says in part, "I had verily the most delightful week—nearly two weeks—I ever spent, with what Maiden do you think? One whose name will thrill you as it does me; one of whom I am very proud, and with whom I am well nigh in love, '*Sed Parca adversa vetant*'—Margaret Gordon. With great gallantry she committed herself to my escort through the Highlands by Inverary and Loch Lomond. Mr. Fergusson of Annan was my friend, and Miss Maxton of Alloa hers. But such another scene of heart-content I shall never pass again: the brief time of it lies in my mind like a hallowed sanctuary in a desert, or like a piece of enchanted ground in a wilderness. Truly, it never strikes me to mingle with it the times that went before, or the times which have come after: it would seem a sort of sacrilege to the Powers which breathed over it such

¹ A few years later, Palace Craig was the south-eastern terminus of the Monkland and Kirkintilloch Railway. It is now known as "Faskine and Palace Craig."

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delight. Yet in all this there was no love, but
there was the most delightful sympathy in some
of the sublimest scenes of Nature, and also in
some of the most distressing feelings of the
heart. But most of all there was such a hearty
wish to give and to receive gratification, which
when felt by one so capable of giving it as the
first-mentioned lady, who was my chief com-
panion, produced an effect to which I know of no
pen able to do justice except that of Boccaccio;
and nothing indeed realised to me the value of
some of his sketches of happy companies released
from the world amidst bowers and gardens and
music and refined sentiment, so much as what I
was enabled to feel upon that occasion.—Mar-
garet is now gone to London. I saw her to the
track-boat on Tuesday, with a heavy heart, I
can assure you. And she often declared she
went back to the gaieties of the City, as a bird to
its cage."¹ It is to this tour that Carlyle alludes
in the passage quoted above from the *Reminis-
cences*.

A few years ago, a story was going the rounds
of the newspapers to the effect that on the death
of Lady Bannerman, formerly Margaret Gordon,

¹ This is quoted from Appendix B, note 2—"Margaret
Gordon and Bannerman." In the first of the published volumes
of the *Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, vol. II, pp. 11-12, it is
by Alexander Carlyle, 1874.

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a cross given to her by Carlyle was found among her things. The family tradition upon which this story is based is that Lady Bannerman once told her half-sister that Carlyle had given her a cross on Ben Lomond. Moreover, a little agate cross was discovered after her death among the few trinkets which remained. Carlyle was certainly never with Margaret Gordon on Ben Lomond.¹ Irving was; and it would be not unnatural that *he* should have given her a cross such as was found.

Irving certainly found Margaret Gordon "very interesting"—and the pupil in return had a great admiration for the teacher, of whom in later life she very frequently spoke. She was "greatly impressed with his sincerity and genuine simplicity and deplored the overthrow of his pure intellect," writes an intimate friend of many years.

Irving saw Margaret to the track-boat "on Tuesday" on her departure from Glasgow for London. Tuesday was July 4, 1820. It was not till a year and a half later that Irving was again to see her. He writes² to Carlyle from London in December, 1821, that he "made all haste to Berkeley Square, and found our friend

¹ If the incident were related in connection with the *Lomond Hills* which are not far from Kirkcaldy, we might incline to accept its truth.

² CARLYLE, *Letters to Carlyle*, II, 30.

1870

1871

1872

1873

1874

1875

1876

1877

Palmer, Aug. 11th 1820

Dear Sir,

I have understood from our friend Mr. Davis that you had returned to Burlington. I take the opportunity this information affords me of thanking you for the very friendly visit you paid us here during your stay at Burlington. Perhaps you may be inclined to think, when I had that the freedom of doing you might have required by reason of the season without now writing a personal epistle on the subject, that had our short interview, permitted I would have gladly done so.

Now the cause that prevented me if your case had been simply one of money such as I am accustomed to receive from the ordinary sort of business, I should neither have seen nor declared any obligation, remaining, as it did, from a true friendship of soul. The result of judging otherwise, is that that obligation is now made. I would be willing to make it known to you as well as to me that I am very sensible that the business was induced on me who is not usually of its nature. I hope your necessities have been and will be satisfied. I trust to be able to make it your way before was proportionally profuse.

Your coming to see me in Gt. appeared not only a proof of the noble
friendship you had retained even your weakness, forgive the expression but
I need to be so intimate that I still was thought worthy of that
intimacy which you have shown me. If you may have an
opportunity of hearing from yourself that in this new path, I am
I am not mistaken, like above can determine. In a few weeks I bid
adieu for a season to Cambridge and I shall then I leave still
that to go on but some sayings: Christ, a few and but a few friends
whose partial regard had brooked here a previous moment of my past
existence. When I say you behold the friend which is many a man
has no idea to my recollection, is very certain. I mentioned to you
I intended to return to Cambridge in London, my mother will not
consent to be long so much a stranger in my family as so long a sepa-
ration endangers. Yet why entertain you with so much epistolary?
If it offends you, blame my vanity, for with respect, that alone says
he is, it is only the absence that such a relation of my proposed
wanderings will not be Monticello to a friend, a case by which
I hope I shall always call you.

I was very sorry to hear you had
had been repaired by the study of some other study, your former
"Says" I trust have already produced the desired effect of removing

the consequences of your stay in Edinburgh. You must not wear out
your constitution by such continual application. Still, permit me to
entreat you not to desert the path nature has so wisely marked
you should walk in. It is true it is full of ^{many} obstacles, yet
spurred with little to charm the sense yet these present a way
the which is fitted for minds such as yours to overcome. The
difficulties of the ascent are great, but how glorious the summit.
I hope you are fixed on the end of your journey, and you will begin
to forget the weariness of the way - you must have taken the
sensible, a friend I had almost said of a sister, who is just
addressing you for the last time, and who would repeat to me hereafter
that nature, in spite of her usual modesty had not been over-pressed.
May Fortune prove propitious to you, in every part of your voyage
through life - or if this is indeed too much happiness for anyone mortal
in this changeable scene, may the storms of adversity ever find you
prepared to admit their overwhelming power; and ever be followed
by that peaceful calm, the virtuous alone can attain & enjoy.
Whatever be the situation in which you be assured I shall ever
remain your sincere friend.

Wm. Brewster

Mr. Thomas Carlyle

Manchester

Edinburgh

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Margaret Gordon at home." London life had changed the Margaret of the delightful Ben Lomond days. She had already assumed the air of *la grande dame* for which she was memorable in later life. "I cannot help fancying," Irving wrote, "that for the first half hour or so she takes advantage of her fashionable style to teach me my clownishness, but afterwards it goes off, and she becomes nearly as we knew her"; still Irving was not satisfied, though he scarcely knew why. He felt "out not a little," and "somehow or other" was "indisposed to go back."

But to return to Carlyle. The two letters which Margaret Gordon sent to Carlyle were written in Palace Craig. The first, dated "*June 14th*, 1820," and addressed to "Mr. Thomas Carlyle, Mainhill, Ecclefechen," is as follows¹:—

"DEAR SIR,—Having understood from our friend Mr. Irving that you had returned to Dumfriesshire, I take the opportunity this information affords me, of thanking you for the very friendly visit you paid us some time ago at Kirkealdy. Perhaps you may be inclined to think, when I had last the pleasure of seeing you, I might have expressed my sense of the favour, without now writing a formal epistle on the subject. This, had our short interview permitted, I would have

¹ CARLYLE, *Letters*, II, 31.

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gladly done. *You* know the cause that prevented me. If your call had been merely one of ceremony such as I am accustomed to receive from the ordinary *herd* of men, I should neither have seen nor declared any obligation. Originating, as it did, from a true greatness of soul, the result of feelings little akin to those that occupy common minds, I should be wanting in duty to myself as well as [to] you, did I not show by my gratitude that the kindness was bestowed on one who is at least sensible of its extent. To *possess* your *friendship*, I have often said, was a constant source of delight to me; to *lose* it, you may believe, was proportionably painful. Your coming to see me in Fife, appeared not only a proof of the noble triumph you had obtained over your weakness (forgive the expression), but seemed to be an intimation that I still was thought worthy of that esteem with which you formerly honoured me. If ever I may have an opportunity of hearing from yourself that in this my last conjecture I am not mistaken, time alone can determine. In a few weeks I bid adieu, for a season, to Caledonia's rugged shores, where I leave, still blest to gaze on her ever-varying charms, a few and but a few friends whose partial regard has soothed many a sorrowing moment of my past existence. When I may again behold the scene which so many circumstances endear to my re-

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collection, is very uncertain. I mentioned to you I intended to remain a twelvemonth in London : my mother will not consent to my being so much a stranger in my family, as so long a separation endangers. Yet why entertain you with so much egotism? If it offends you, blame my vanity, for I will confess *that* alone urges me on ; it is only the assurance that such a relation of my proposed wanderings will not be troublesome to a *friend*, a name by which I hope I shall always call *you*.

"I was very sorry to hear your health had been impaired by the severity of your Winter's study. Your 'native breezes' I trust, have already produced the desired effect of removing the consequences of your stay in Edinburgh. You must not wear out your constitution by such continual application. Still, permit me to entreat you not to desert the path Nature has so evidently marked you should walk in. It is true, it is full of rugged obstacles, interspersed with little to charm the sense ; yet these present a struggle which is fitted only for minds such as *yours* to overcome. The difficulties of the ascent are great, but how glorious the summit! Keep your eyes fixed on the end of your journey, and you will begin to forget the weariness of the way. You see, I have taken the liberty of a friend, I had almost said of a *Sister*, who is probably

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addressing you for the last time, and who would regret to learn hereafter that Nature, in spite of her unusual bounty, had been cruelly opposed.

"May Fortune prove propitious to you, in every part of your voyage through life; or, if this is indeed too much happiness for any one mortal in this changing scene, may the storms of adversity ever find you prepared to resist their overwhelming violence, and ever be followed by that peaceful calm, the virtuous alone are capable of enjoying. Whatever be the situation allotted you, be assured I shall ever remain your sincere friend,

"M. GORDON."

The other letter is dated "*June 28th, 1820*," and was also sent from "Palace Craig" to Carlyle at Mainhill. It runs as follows:—

"What a risk did you run in sending your Letter." I was from home when it arrived, and was much astonished to find it waiting me. I was much pleased to hear your health was improving. *Remove those 'troubles of the soul'* and you *must* be well. Why indulge those miserable racking thoughts? . . . You ask me to write you often, this, I must repeat, would not be doing justice to you—think me not vain—I have

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adopted the title of Sister, and you must permit me to usurp the privileges of one. You promised never to indulge those 'vain imaginations' which have made us both so unhappy. Yet tell me, do they not still require steady restraint? And would not I, by acceding to your request, encourage that 'weakness' it has been my object to remove? Oblige me not to refuse, by asking me to do what is not in my power. Willingly would I advance your happiness, anxious will I be to hear of that happiness, but (think me not severe) from another source my information must come.

"... I have only a few moments to devote to this, by the time you receive it, I shall have commenced my wanderings. You are too generous to *wish* me to act against my sense of duty. . . . If you have no cause to speak gently of this friend,¹ remember 'twas a regard for what was considered the interest of her charge that tempted her to look unkindly on you. She really esteems you. For my sake return the kindness. I am to be under a Mother's care, it is true, for a time; but to the guardianship of this worthy relation I again return. And while in London, I shall equally be under the eye of both, as she determines to

¹ Her aunt, Mrs. Usher.

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accompany us."¹ Then follows the closing paragraph of the letter, which is quoted by Froude with such characteristic inaccuracy, and the misplacing of the date by some three years.

"And now, my dear friend, a long long adieu. One advice, and as a parting one consider, value it:—*cultivate the milder dispositions of your heart, subdue the more extravagant visions of the brain.* In time your abilities must be known; among your acquaintances they are already beheld with wonder and delight; by those whose opinion will be valuable, they hereafter will be appreciated. *Genius* will render you *great*. May *virtue* render you *beloved*! Remove the awful distance between you and ordinary men, by kind and gentle manners; deal mildly with their inferiority, and be convinced they will respect you as much, and like you more. Why conceal the real goodness that flows in your heart?—I have ventured this counsel from an anxiety for your future welfare; and I would enforce it with all the earnestness of the most sincere friendship. 'Let your light shine before men,' and think them not unworthy this trouble. This exercise

¹ On account of the mutilated condition of the original, it is not quite clear whether this word should be "me" or "us." In the former case Mrs. Usher and Margaret were travelling to London alone, and Mary must have gone on separately.

Margaret Gordon and Thomas Carlyle will prove its own reward. It must be a pleasing thing to live in the affections of others.—Again, Adieu. Pardon the freedom I have used, and when you think of me, be it as a kind Sister, to whom your happiness will always yield delight, and your griefs sorrow.

“Yours with esteem and regard,

“M. GORDON.”

“I give you not my address because I dare not promise to see you.”

At this time Margaret Gordon was in her twenty-second and Carlyle in his twenty-fifth year.

If the fragment of Margaret Gordon's farewell letter as published by Froude, impelled Professor Masson to write “Nothing finer or nobler than that letter has come to light, or ever can come to light in all Carlyle's correspondence,” how much more would this declaration and what he says in continuation be justified in connection with the correspondence in its more complete form: “Valuable as an additional attestation of the enormous impression made by Carlyle upon all who came near him, even at this early date, and of the prodigious expectations entertained of his future career, these words reveal also such a character in the writer herself as almost to compel the dream of what might have happened if she had become his wife.”

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The outline of this romantic episode in Carlyle's life now seems fairly clear:

Carlyle, attracted to Margaret Gordon—the "fair-complexioned, softly elegant, softly grave, witty and comely type," who "had a good deal of gracefulness, intelligence and other talent"—finally fell in love with her. The possession of Carlyle's friendship, Margaret Gordon "often said, was a constant source of delight." She fully appreciated his "genius" and the "awful distance" between him and "ordinary men," and beheld his "abilities" with "wonder and delight." She closes her farewell letter with a postscript which would seem to clearly indicate that however strongly she had expressed herself in her letter, and however strong her sense of duty would compel her to suit a course, she feared her resolution might waver, did she see Carlyle further; she dared "not promise to see" him. Margaret's aunt, Mrs. Usher, could, apparently, see no happiness for her adopted daughter in marrying a poor schoolmaster, although she (the aunt) really esteemed him. But the aunt had "regard for what was considered the interest of her charge," and Carlyle was frowned upon. He was incensed against the aunt and thought he had "no cause to speak gently" of her. He urged that Margaret write to him "often." But this, Margaret thought her duty to deny. They

Margaret Gordon and Thomas Carlyle had indulged in "vain imaginations" which, since the aunt's decree, had made them "both so unhappy." It were better, then, that each should exercise "steady restraint" and try to forget, although, as far as Margaret was concerned, his "happiness" would "always yield delight" and his "griefs, sorrow." Although they would not be in communication with one another, let him think of her "as a kind Sister" in whose "affections" and those "of others" his memory would linger. Hers was "the most sincere friendship"!

But was it altogether a question of "what ure, at that period, was a Mrs. 'Carlyle' likely to make in polished society? Could she have driven so much as a brass-bound Gig, or even a simple iron-spring one?" These questions can be answered with assurance, in the negative. There was another man in the case.

This is made clear in two or at least five letters¹ referring to Margaret which Irving sent to Carlyle. In one letter, dated September 21, 1820, Irving wrote that he "had a letter from our dear friend Margaret Gordon," and further on continued "she appears now to have found reason to turn her indignation where her affection was formerly." The second letter, written a few days later, contains the sentence, "I got [rapped]

¹ Quoted fully in *Long Letters*, II, 393-6

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over the fingers so sorely for daring to hint . . . that she might perhaps not have loved so deeply as she thought, that I pray you for your own comfort to express no dubitation on the subject."

Here then we have a complete explanation of Margaret Gordon's letters to Carlyle and it is clear what "other circumstances" were in Carlyle's mind when he wrote of his acquaintance which "might easily have been more, had she and her Aunt and our economic and other circumstances liked." By the time she had come to know Carlyle well, she was in some way bound to a young man of means and prominence, intellectually her inferior. She thoroughly appreciated Carlyle's genius, the regard he won was undoubtedly great,¹ and it seems not unlikely that Mrs. Usher observed her charge's growing interest in him and Margaret's drifting from the course of duty. For *this* reason, therefore, Mrs. Usher did not look upon Carlyle's visits with favour, and insisted that the niece should make her position clear. This was done, and Carlyle withdrew, although he begged Margaret to write to him often. Both Irving and Carlyle knew of this young man then, but did

¹ "What a noble character is Mr. Carlyle! Nature has endowed him with many a rare and valuable gift," she wrote to Irving (*Love Letters*, II, 395)

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not seem to think that her attachment to him was sufficiently strong to be permanent. Time seemed however to strengthen the bonds, as she met Irving's suggestions of inconstancy with some indignation.

Who the lover of those Kirkcaldy and London days may have been, is not recorded in any of Carlyle's or Irving's correspondence which has been preserved. Was it her relative "Sandy" Bannerman? All we can say is, that about two years after Irving's visit, on January 14, 1824,¹ Margaret Gordon was married at St. George's, Hanover Square, London, to Alexander Bannerman, banker, wine merchant, and manufacturer of Aberdeen. She was twenty-five, and he thirty-five years of age.

Carlyle never made any secret of his attachment to Margaret Gordon. He talked of it freely to Professor Masson and others; he even told Miss Welsh of it during his courtship of her, for she writes to him on May 8, 1825: "Moreover you will continue to love me very dearly, -more dearly than you ever loved Margaret

¹ *Publ. Harl. Soc. Register*, Vol. XXIV, London, 1897. "January 14, 1824, Alexander Bannerman, Bachelor, and Margaret Gordon, otherwise Guthrie, Spinster. Licence witnessed by G. J. Guthrie [Step-father], Ann Guthrie [Half-sister], Mary Guthrie [Sister], Joseph Hume [an Aberdeen friend of Bannerman]."

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Gordon,—for with all my faults I do deserve it of you."¹

Concerning Margaret Gordon's later life we find in the *Reminiscences* this single passage with its final pathetic and artistic touch, "Yes, yes, that is you:—" "A year or so after, we heard the fair Margaret had married some rich insignificant Aberdeen Mr. Something; who afterwards got into Parliament, thence out to 'Nova Scotia' (or so) as 'Governor'; and I heard of her no more,—except that lately she was still living about Aberdeen, childless, as the 'Dowager Lady ——,' her Mr. Something having got knighted before dying. Poor Margaret! Speak to her since the 'good-bye, then' at Kirkcaldy in 1819 I never did or could. I saw her, recognisably to me, here in her London time, twice (1840 or so), *twice*, once with her maid in Piccadilly, promenading, little altered; a second time, that same year or next, on horseback both of us and *meeting* in the gate of Hyde Park, when her *eyes* (but that was all) said to me most touchingly, 'Yes, yes; that is you!' ——— Enough of that old matter; which but half concerns Irving and is now quite extinct."

It may be recalled that Carlyle wrote his *Reminiscences* in 1866, nearly fifty years after "Schoolmastering in Fife." Yet in practically

¹ CARLYLE, *Love Letters*, II, 122



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every point his account of Margaret Gordon is fully corroborated by modern research. The "good-bye, then" was at Kirkcaldy in 1820, not "1819," and Miss Gordon was not, of course, born in New Brunswick, nor was her father ever there. But many people now living can testify with Carlyle to her beauty, her fair complexion, her intelligence and wit, her high breeding, and her very fine voice. In earlier chapters it has been shown that Margaret was indeed "of the Aberdeenshire Gordons," and that she was adopted by an aunt, "widow in Fife, childless, with limited resources," who, when Carlyle knew her at the age of sixty, might, perhaps, be classed as an "elderly dame."

On the other hand, Carlyle's *Reminiscences* of Mrs., afterwards Lady, Bannerman's husband, are curiously contemptuous and inaccurate. He could never be said to be "rich," nor was he, by any means, "an insignificant Aberdeen Mr. Something." He was never "governor" of Nova Scotia, nor was Lady Bannerman ever in Scotland after her husband's death. It is evident, on the face of it, that Carlyle knew well enough who Margaret Gordon's husband was; else, how would he learn of Sir Alexander Bannerman's death and of Lady Bannerman's residence in Aberdeen? Moreover, Professor Masson has told us that he knew of Carlyle inquiring more than once about

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the Aberdeenshire Bannermans, and this interest, which Carlyle exhibited in Margaret Gordon and her husband, is vouched for by others.¹

Margaret Gordon's "long, long adieu" was written in June, 1820. In June, 1821, Irving introduced Carlyle at the house of Mrs. Welsh, a widow at Haddington, and there he first met her only child Jane Baillie Welsh, then not quite twenty years of age, and the most remarkable girl in all the neighbourhood. Their marriage took place October 17, 1826, nearly three years after Margaret Gordon's marriage, and some five years after the period when Carlyle states that his "romantic" thoughts of her had ceased and she no longer took a hold on his fancy.

Yet he followed her later career with interest, and Froude, Carlyle's biographer, declares "Margaret Gordon was the original, so far as there was an original of Blumine in 'Sartor Resartus.'"

This disputed point is the subject for discussion in the next chapter.

Notes. THOMAS CARLYLE, *Reminiscences*, edited by J. A. Froude, 1881, p. 7. J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of His First Forty years of His Life, 1795-1835*, Vol. I, N.Y., 1897. R. GARNETT, *Life of Carlyle*, London, 1887. R. Campbell, 1821, "Scotch Ministers' Widows."

It would be interesting if we had a Carlyle portrait of the 1821 period. His earliest known portrait, that of 1832, as well as a reproduction of a miniature of Margaret Gordon, painted shortly after her marriage, are given in this volume.

Margaret Gordon and Thomas Carlyle

Pension Office, Edinburgh—WILSON, *Imp. Gazetteer of Scotland*—LONGMAN, *Gazetteer of the World*, London, 1895—*Early Letters of Carlyle*, ed. by CHARLES E. NORTON, London, 1886, p. 141. Maclise's portrait of Carlyle reproduced in *Fraser's Mag.*, 1833, Vol. VII, p. 710. D. MACDONALD (died Oct. 10, 1970), "Carlyle's Edinburgh Life," *Macmillan's Mag.*, November, 1881, Vol. XLV, pp. 78-9; also in *Edinburgh's Stories and Memories*, 1892, pp. 257-60, 273, 281. "J. F. A.," and A. CARLYLE, "Carlyle's First Love," *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, January 8, 12, 1907. Private information from a variety of sources.

NOTE ON CARLYLES IN CANADA

Not only did several members of Carlyle's family spend their last days in Ontario, Canada, but some of his relatives lived, it is said, near Margaret Gordon's birthplace—Prince Edward Island:—John of Corkermouth, Carlyle's brother, emigrated to Ontario in 1837. His son William is now inspector of schools in Woodstock, Ontario; another son was the late Dr. James Carlyle, mathematical master in the Toronto Normal School. Carlyle's eldest brother, "Alick," emigrated to Canada in 1843. His son Alexander is referred to several times in the course of our sketch. Carlyle's youngest sister, Janet, Mrs. Robert Hanning, went to Canada in 1851, and was living in Toronto at the time of her death a dozen years ago. The claim is made by the children of one Peter Carlyle (son of James), who, as a lad, left Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, for Mount Stewart, Prince Edward Island, about 1828, that their father was a second cousin of Thomas Carlyle. About the middle of the last century Peter Carlyle moved to Kent County, New Brunswick, where a daughter is now living.

CHAPTER II

MARGARET GORDON AND BLUMINE IN "SARTOR RESARTUS"

IT is now generally conceded that *Sartor Resartus* is largely autobiographical, and, by the few who refer to the matter at all, it is made apparent that the first draft of *Sartor* was an attempt to novelize *Wotton Reinfred*.

Diogenes Teufelsdröckh of *Sartor* and Wotton Reinfred are simply aliases of Thomas Carlyle. In *Wotton* the scenery and atmosphere are Scottish. Reinfred has his Swane as Carlyle had his living god when the heroine, Jane Montague, first appears, like Blumine she figures as "The Heavenly Messenger." "And she--oh fair and golden as the dawn she rose upon my soul." In *Sartor*, Letepluhl is Carlyle's native village of Ecclefechan, and the Zahdarms are his friends, the Ballies. But who is Blumine, the "Rose Goddess" in the "many-tinted, radiant Aurora" of Teufelsdröckh's experiences? "Is this central incident in Carlyle's spiritual biography without its parallel in actual life?" To this question several very different answers have been given.

Blumine in "Sartor Resartus"

I. Froude and Masson, Carlyle's personal friends believed, and have in more than one place affirmed, that Margaret Gordon was the original, so far as there was an original, of Blumine. But Professor Masson would seem to have derived his information from Froude.

II. When Carlyle went to London as tutor to the young Bullers in 1822 he met a friend of the family to whom he often alludes by the pet name "dear Kitty." Her full name was Catherine Aurora Kirkpatrick, and she died in 1889 at the age of eighty-seven.¹ Her friends thought that she was "Blumine," and that "Herr Towgood" was young Charles Buller.

III. Basing his opinion upon the ante-nuptial correspondence of Carlyle, Mr. Alexander Carlyle reasons that the original of Blumine is no other than Jane Welsh.

Wotton Reinfred was begun in January, 1827, and was finished in June of the same year. In support of the claim of Kitty Kirkpatrick as a Blumine claimant, Mr. Strachey quotes from this novel a passage supposed to refer to her husband. And yet Miss Kirkpatrick was not married until November 21, 1829! Mr. Strachey also cites several passages from the two stories [*Wotton Reinfred* and *Blumine*] which are entirely at variance. So much the worse for the claimant.

IV. This is Mr. Carlyle's conclusion after very complete study of the *Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle*.

V. II, Appendix B, 1909. In 1903 he wrote: "Blumine is only a creature of Carlyle's imagination; and no *one* lady

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IV. Mr. MacMechan, after careful and thorough discussion, arrives at the conclusion "that while certain circumstances point to each of the three, no one can be considered as the original of Blumine to the exclusion of the other two. Carlyle was an artist in words. He needed a portrait of a heroine. He took as models the three women he knew best, as fair and amiable influences as ever came into the life of genius, and painted from them with master strokes, and in unfading colours, a picture of ideal loveliness."

Mr. MacMechan's conclusion is undoubtedly the one which would be reached after the study of material until recently available. Mr. Alexander Carlyle has now shown, however, that practically all the *Sartor* references capable of being applied to "Kitty" Kirkpatrick can, with equal correctness, be interpreted in connection with Jane Welsh. It should further be remembered that Carlyle was undoubtedly in love with Margaret Gordon in the Kirkcaldy days as he was in later years with Jane Welsh, while there is not one atom of evidence to show that Carlyle was at any time in love with Kitty Kirkpatrick. It is therefore clear that her claim to being the original of Blumine may well be ruled out.

Carlyle's claim to have been the original of Blumine, but this statement will not appear in future editions of his *Autobiography*. *MacMechan's History of Carlyle*, I. 16, 17.

Blumine in "Sartor Resartus"

Was, then, the blue-eyed, fair-haired, intelligent, witty, slight but beautifully moulded and altogether graceful Margaret Gordon, or the "fleein', dancin' licht - heartit thing Jeanni-Welsh," she of powerful intellect, "of fragile and graceful form, features pretty rather than regular, with a complexion of cream pale, black hair over a finely arched forehead, and very soft and brilliant black eyes"—the original of Blumine? Or is neither of these women to be considered in this connection to the exclusion of the other? To this opinion we hold. "Black hair" and "brilliant black eyes" are certainly more in keeping with an original of the "hazel-eyed" "light-ray incarnate," her "dark tresses, shading a face where smiles and sunlight played over earnest deeps"; but from *Wotton Reinfred* and *Sartor* may be quoted many passages which apply in detail to Margaret Gordon as we now know her life, while some of these passages cannot in any sense be applied to Jane Welsh. To quote from *Wotton Reinfred*

"Jane Montague was a name well known to him; far and wide its fair owner was celebrated for her graces and gifts; herself also he had seen and noted; her slim daintiest form, her soft sylph-like movements . . .; but all this he had noted only as a beautiful vision which he himself had scarcely right to look at, for her sphere was

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far from his; as yet he had never heard her voice or hoped that he would ever speak with her."

Margaret Gordon was celebrated far and wide for her "graces and gifts." She was well born, "a kind of alien in the place"—her sphere "was far from his." For two years, from time to time, Carlyle had "seen and noted" her, before he finally heard her voice.

"Wotton had never known love, etc." So far as we know Margaret Gordon was Carlyle's first love.

"Jane Montague had an ancient maiden aunt who was her hostess and protectress, to whom she owed all and looked for all . . . what passed between the good maiden and her aunt we know not; . . . she had high hopes for her niece, and in her meagre, hungry bitten philosophy, Wotton's visits had from the first been but faintly approved of."

Margaret Gordon's aunt, Mrs. Usher, was her "hostess and protectress." She had high hopes for her niece and "faintly approved of" Carlyle's visits.

"You have seen my aunt . . . Jane Montague, "and something of her character, which therefore I need not describe at large. Surely I owe her much. She was my sole benefactress; herself a widow, she found me a helpless orphan.

Blumine in "Sartor Resartus"

for with their ill-starred life, the fortune of my parents had also gone to wreck, and had it not been for her affection, I was destitute as well as orphaned. . . . She has shared all with me; though poor she has shunned no cost in procuring me instruction and improvement."

Margaret Gordon indeed owed much, and did not forget the debt to her widowed aunt, who though poor certainly "shunned no cost in procuring" her niece "instruction and improvement."

"Of my childhood I can say very little. Something whispers me that in the earlier part of it I was happier, for I have faint recollections of a pleasant home and kind nurses, and one that used to weep over me and kiss me, perhaps my mother. But an obscure confused period succeeds; of which I have no remembrance, except a certain vague impression of tumult and distress; and this first scene stands like some fair little island, divided by wild seas from my whole after life. I had lost my parents, how I have never known, some baleful mystery over their fate. . . . Unhappy father! It seems he must have died miserably. . . ."

We can easily believe that Margaret Gordon told Carlyle of her early life. She may well have had "faint recollections" of a pleasant home in

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Charlottetown and Halifax, as she would then be from two to four years old. Just before she was brought to Scotland—the period when her father was meeting with so many difficulties—would surely be one of “tumult and distress.” In a mood when she would consider Carlyle as one whose “regard has soothed many a sorrowing moment of my past existence” Miss Gordon may have referred to herself as “an orphan.” For there is little reason to suppose that she ever saw her mother between 1803 and 1820. Carlyle, of course, knew of her mother.

“One morning he found his fair Jane constrained and sad; she was silent, absent; she seemed to have been weeping. The aunt left the room. He pressed for explanation, first in kind solicitude, then with increasing apprehension; but none was to be had, save only broken hints that she was grieved for herself, for him, that she had much to suffer, that he must cease to visit her. It was in vain that, the thunder-struck Wotton demanded ‘Why? Why?’ One whom she entirely depended on had so ordered it, and for herself, she had nothing to do but obey . . . only by a thrill of anguish that once or twice quivered over her face could a calmer man have divined that she was suffering within. Wotton’s pride was stung; he rose and held out his hand, ‘Farewell then, madame!’ said he.”

Blumine in "Sartor Resartus"

In connection with such an extract, which is reproduced in outline in *Sartor*, let us place the following extracts from Margaret Gordon's letters.

"To possess your friendship, I have often said, was a constant source of delight to me; to lose it, you may believe, was proportionably painful. . . ." "You ask me to write to you often, this, I must repeat, would not be doing justice to you. . . ." "You promised never to indulge those 'vain imaginations' which have made us both so unhappy. Yet tell me, do they not still require steady restraint? And would not I, by acceding to your request, encourage that 'weakness' it has been my object to remove? . . ." "If you have no cause to speak gently of this friend [Mrs. Usher], remember 'twas a regard for what was considered the interest of her charge that tempted her to look unkindly on you. . . ." "And now, my dear friend, a long long adieu."

These extracts from letters, throughout of grave and lofty tone, almost compel us to the belief that this meeting of Wotton with Jane Montague is life history. In his *Reminiscences* Carlyle wrote, "Speak to her, since the 'Good bye, then' at Kirkcaldy, in 1819, I never did or could." Is not the phrase, "Farewell then, madame," reminiscent of this parting? Margaret's gentle refusal to write often to Carlyle would certainly sting his

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pride. In *Sartor*, admittedly autobiographical, this scene concludes :—

“‘Farewell, then, Madam!’ said he, not without sternness, for his stung pride helped him. She put her hand in his, she looked in his face, tears started to her eyes; in wild audacity he clasped her to his bosom; their lips were joined, their souls, like two dewdrops, rushed into one—for the first time and for the last! Thus was Teufelsdröckh made immortal by a kiss.”

Is it impossible that such was Carlyle's last meeting with Margaret Gordon? There is certainly nothing in her letters to compel a contrary conclusion.

A single further quotation from *Wotton Rein* need must suffice for this discussion :

“By-and-by came reports that his Jane was to be wedded—wedded to Edmund Walter, a gay young man of rank, a soldier . . . wealthy, well-armed, and influential in the country. The wedding-day, it was even stated, had been fixed. . . . But some secret change had occurred, and the public expectation was balked. The marriage did not take place . . . the aunt, also, and niece, the latter apparently in deepest sorrow, had closed their house and retired to their friends in London.”

Blumine in "Sartor Resartus"

That there was someone to whom Margaret Gordon was more or less bound in the 1820 period we have already seen. And this was the year in which she and her aunt "retired to their friends in London." To Alexander Bannerman, although there is no reason whatever for connecting him with this period, the further description of Walter in the novel bears not the slightest resemblance.

But of all the Blumine claimants Margaret Gordon alone was "unhappily dependent and insolvent"—and she, as Blumine, "resigned herself to wed some richer"—Jane Welsh did not. The original of the character "Herr Towgood," the "richer," was, however, Carlyle's former pupil, Charles Buller,¹ *not* Alexander Bannerman, whom Mr. Walker proclaims as the original, in his *Aberdeen Area*. He was doubtless misled by taking as literally true the passage in *Sartor* where Teufelsdröckh sees Towgood and Blumine on "their wedding jaunt." But this was probably suggested to Carlyle's mind by his having actually seen Irving and his bride, formerly Miss Martin, on

He is memorable to Canadians for having drawn up the famous Durham Report, which did so much to give Canada representative government. Mr. Alexander Carlyle reasons (*Love Letters*, Appendix B) that there are two originals of Herr Towgood: Charles Buller in Chapter III of *Sartor*, and Irving in Chapter V.

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their wedding tour. The scenery described by Teufelsdröckh is quite applicable to the valley of the Tay; and Mr. and Mrs. Irving were "off to England, etc." Moreover, as we have seen, Margaret Gordon was not married in Scotland but in London. She would not therefore, on her wedding tour, be "emerging from the hidden northward, to sink soon into the hidden southward. . . ."

Among many further points to which reference might be made, it may be noted that Margaret Gordon and Jane Montague were alike skilled with pencil and brush; that many passages in *Wotton Reinfred* which cannot apply to Margaret Gordon cannot also apply to Jane Welsh; but that only one or two passages could apply to Jane Welsh which could not be applied equally well to Margaret Gordon. And it is to be remembered that although *Wotton Reinfred* is a novel, Carlyle's "zeal for truth and hatred of fiction" would impel him to base what he wrote upon his own experience.

The full extent to which Jane Welsh is traceable in *Sartor Resartus* has been dealt with by Mr. Carlyle. More particularly with reference to *Wotton Reinfred*, the first draft of *Sartor*, we have shown remarkable resemblances between the histories of the heroine and Margaret Gordon. Many of the passages descriptive of the heroine in

Blumine in "Sartor Resartus"

Sartor are word for word as in *Wotton*. Our conclusion then is, that neither Jane Welsh nor Margaret Gordon is to be considered to the exclusion of the other as the original of Blumine in *Sartor Resartus*.

Authorities.—T. CARLYLE, "Wotton Reinfred," *New Review*, Jan., Feb., March, 1892; also published in a volume entitled *Last Words of Thomas Carlyle*, Lond., 1892—A. CARLYLE, *Early Life of Thomas Carlyle*, 1881—MASSON in *Carlyle's Edinb. Life (l.c.)*; also in J. A. S. Barrett's *Sartor Resartus*, 1897—*Gent's Mag.*, XCIX, 558—C. E. NORTON, *Letters of T. Carlyle*, 1826-36, p. 45—CARLYLE, *Sartor Resartus*, edited by A. MacMechan, new edition, Lond., 1905—GEO. STRACHEY, "Carlyle and the 'Rome Reviews,'" *Nineteenth Century*, Sept., 1892—*Blackwood Monthly*, 1893, p. 29—C. T. COPELAND, *Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, *Youngest Sister*, Bost., 1899—GEO. WALKER, *Sartor Resartus*, new edition, Aberdeen, 1897, p. 90—Informa

CHAPTER III

MARGARET GORDON AND ALEXANDER BANNERMAN

I. ALEXANDER BANNERMAN AS A YOUNG MAN (1788-1824)

IT has been pointed out in earlier pages that Dr. Alexander Gordon and Mrs. Usher were second cousins of the seventh and eighth Baronets of Elsick, the latter of whom, Sir Charles Bannerman, bought Logie. These baronets were sons of the sixth Baronet, Sir Alexander, who became an eminent doctor. Thomas, a younger brother of Sir Alexander, was a wine merchant in Aberdeen. He married and had four sons and two daughters, who were said to be "the most beautiful women of their time in Scotland." George the Fourth was a great admirer of one of them. Of the sons, Alexander the eldest was born October 7,¹ 1788. He received his early education at the old Aberdeen Grammar School, which he left in 1801, and during two sessions at Maris

¹ "Burke" (1905 ed.) gives this date incorrectly

Alexander Bannerman

chal College. As a lad of eight or ten he used to frequently meet George Gordon, afterwards the poet Lord Byron, who was almost exactly his own age; but it was his first cousin, Alexander Bannerman, who was Byron's class fellow at the Grammar School. Byron lived "in Aberdeen and the North" 1790-8, and he was probably a student at the school during the last four years of this period.

Alexander Bannerman grew up to be a young man of distinguished personal appearance, as the Trades Hall portrait, which we reproduce, amply testifies. He was spare and erect, remarkable for a handsome figure and frank expression. He was "one of the wild Maule of Panmure and Duke of Gordon set, who filled the north with their pranks"; and the somewhat homely name "Sandy" Bannerman, by which he was universally known, indicates the kindly feeling with which he was regarded in his native place, where he had been known from childhood, and where his wayward humours are still remembered. By the time he was twenty-three years of age he was already a prominent citizen of acknowledged cleverness and ability, and was elected a town councillor. The Aberdeen council of those days was much in need of reform. The old council elected their successors, by which means it was not only possible but almost invariably happened that, by

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alternate election of each other, the same party maintained possession of the council, to the entire exclusion of the rest of the burghesses. When a Parliamentary investigation was made in 1819, it was found that Provost Hadden, by means of his various relatives and business connections, had not only been fifteen times in council, but was considered the leader of the town council for twenty years before, and this whether he was in or out of the council at the time. Into this council, in September, 1811, "Sandy" Bannerman, because of the prominence of his family and his popularity and ability, was introduced. His frankly outspoken opinions and criticisms, from which not even the Provost escaped, determined that his service as councillor should be brief, and he was not re-elected in 1812. In 1820 his father died, and the management of the wine business devolved upon himself and his brother Thomas. He also entered into important manufacturing enterprises, of which the Bannermill, erected in 1826 and not closed until five years ago, was a memorial. This cotton mill (locally known as the Bogmill) was at first carried on by the Thomas Bannerman Company, of which Alexander Bannerman and his brother and two others were the members. He also became a member of the firm of Milne, Cruden, and Co. a shareholder in the John Duffus and Company, Iron-founders; and in the James Forbes



Alexander Bannerman

Company. He was a director of the Aberdeen Bank, 1819-41, and invested heavily in the Dundee whale fishing enterprises.

But these enterprises were more properly recorded in an account of the later life of "Sandy" Bannerman, while we are here concerned with him as a young man. Stories of his pranks in these early days abound. The city fathers, who did not find his company congenial, were a favourite mark for his shafts. Having, out of their good nature, subscribed for twenty copies of a "Treatise on Dancing" for the sole purpose of patronizing and encouraging the Tory author, Bannerman thus ridiculed them:

For they hae coffed a score o' buiks,
On dancing ilka ane:
Tho' folk in sober guise wad trow
Their dancin' days were dane
Now bob for bob, an' loup for loup
Forenent the cham'er door,
Grave magistrates will rax their legs,
Fan their sederunts o'er!
Ere twa three, bouts their win' will f
An' pullin' come instead;
Nae wonder they'll be soon dane out,
For dancin's nae their trade.

But this is only one of many instances of "Sandy" Bannerman's flights in verse. He was the author of the song "Willie Godsmen's Sorrowful Lament for the Lass o' his Broth," and

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to him is attributed the unpublished rhyming account of "A Meeting of the Managers of the Infirmary, or The De'il among the Doctors." There are sixteen stanzas in all, and they are preserved in Mr. Walker's Journal.

The Town Clerk, Carnegie, was a favourite butt for his practical jokes. It is related that Carnegie had a celebrated Hougomont stick, a memorial of Waterloo and an especial favourite of his. It was the terror of all porters or messengers or other burden carriers who dared to appear on the sacred paved portion of the street which he was using. Entering the "Book-Stall" to consult with ex-Provost Brown, he unsuspectingly left his stick on the counter while he was closeted with the proprietor in a private room. Meanwhile "Sandy" Bannerman had entered the "Book-Stall," but finding the well-known and highly prized stick, he left immediately, carrying the stick with him. For several days the clerk was forced to go abroad without his accustomed wand of authority. But finally it arrived by the mail from Edinburgh, with a note from Bannerman saying that while in Edinburgh he had met the stick stalking on the pavement, and recognizing it as Carnegie's he had captured it and sent it back to its owner.—But he forgot to pay the carriage!

It is also related that on one occasion he gave

Alexander Bannerman

to a credulous acquaintance going to Glasgow a letter of introduction addressed.

"To

BAILIE NICOL JARVIE,
SALTMARKET."¹

—It was accepted in good faith!

Finally we may recall a hoax perpetrated by "Sandy" Bannerman and some of his boon companions on the town as a whole. In the spring of 1822 a great snowstorm buried the whole country in deep snow-drifts, and no London mail had arrived in Aberdeen for nearly a fortnight! Time hung heavily on the hands of its citizens, and almost any break in the dull monotony would have been welcome. At this juncture "Sandy" Bannerman and some kindred spirits, who had prolonged a supper to the "wae sma' hours," procured post-horses and quietly rode out towards the bridge of Dee, as far as the drifts allowed them. They then came riding back lustily blowing post-horns all the way as an intended intimation of the long-expected arrival of the mail. The ruse was successful and the excitement great; and as the noisy cavalcade passed along Union Street in the bleak air of the dark morning, all sleepers were aroused and, after hastily dressing, flocked to the post office

¹ Cf. *R* & *R* p.

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to get their letters and the latest news. They were informed that although no mail had arrived, "Sandy" Bannerman had. This was sufficient!

Such was "Sandy" Bannerman at the age of thirty-three. Two years later he was married to Margaret Gordon.

2. MR. AND MRS. BANNERMAN (1824-51)

Two people more widely different in their characteristics and disposition it would have been wellnigh impossible to have found, yet for forty years they lived most happily together. The young wife's craving for success in social life and for the power to stylishly adorn her person was easily satisfied in the early years of her married life in Aberdeen. It would seem as if Mrs. Bannerman's miniature portrayed her in a characteristic costume. For, an Aberdonian veteran, ex-Bailie George Walker, has told us that he could "recollect 'Sandy' with 'Blumine' leaning on his arm, both tall and distingué, walking along Union Street, she stylishly dressed in dashing costume with a showy hat and ostrich feathers, in Gainsborough style, while he actually kept his hands in his pockets, seemingly unaware of the interest and attention directed towards his beautiful wife; he was a hero to all the boys of the time." They lived at 60 Marischal

Mr. and Mrs. Bannerman

Street,¹ the last house on the left-hand side going down from Castle Street. To this home Mrs. Usher went in 1825, and here till her death, thirteen years later, she was tenderly cared for by the niece over whom she had watched with solicitude in her girlhood years.

Early in his married life Mr. Bannerman took a renewed interest in municipal affairs. A man of fine social parts, who had the art of ingratiating himself with all sorts of people, he was regarded as the leader of the Whigs in the town.² But such a triumph as that which was to open his political career would have been impossible unless "Sandy" Bannerman had been deep in the affections, as well as in the confidence, of his fellow-citizens. The suffrages of his fellow-townsmen pronounced in his favour so overwhelmingly, continues a local chronicler, that from the first he was recognized by friend and

The house has long since been torn down to make way for a modern office building. The numbering of the houses has also been changed, the present No. 60 being on the opposite side of the street.

Some of his pamphlets date from this period: 1. "A short Statement showing the necessity of effectual Controul . . . in a new Harbour Bill," Aberdeen, 1826, p. 30 (Anonymous). 2. "A Letter addressed to the Harbour Trustees of the City of Aberdeen . . . relative to a New Harbour Bill," Aberdeen, 1826, p. 31. 3. "The results and expense of Mr. Telford's plans on the Harbour of Aberdeen," 1831, p. 17.

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foe as the man most likely to represent the city in the Reformed Parliament. When it was gathered from Lord John Russell's Bill that Aberdeen was likely to obtain a separate representation, Mr. Bannerman had a requisition from three hundred of the leading Liberals asking him to stand; and this number increased so rapidly that the Conservative candidate, Provost Hadden, gave up the contest weeks before the nomination day and left Mr. Bannerman to walk the course not only unopposed but unpledged and untrammelled. On the occasion of his election Mr. Bannerman recalled the circumstance that rather more than a century before his great-grandfather, Patrick Bannerman, had been chosen chief magistrate of Aberdeen, an honour which he probably in part owed to his Jacobite proclivities, and which had nearly cost him his head. There had been no other popular election in Aberdeen from 1715 to 1832; and the new-found liberties of the city were celebrated in a fashion that seems from our calmer point of view sufficiently extravagant. Mr. Bannerman had no sooner been declared member for the city than he was made to step on a platform carried shoulder high by twelve bearers. A gorgeous canopy supported by four Corinthian columns was over his head, and he was provided with a gold and crimson chair. On this structure the new member was carried around Castle Street

Mr. and Mrs. Bannerman

and along Union Street to the bridge, where the procession was saluted by twenty-one rounds of cannonading, and whence it returned by Union Street and Marischal Street to Mr. Bannerman's house.

In 1834 the Melbourne Ministry was dismissed, and in the canvass that ensued Mr. Bannerman, while leaving no room to doubt the soundness of his Liberalism, opposed without reserve some views that were found to be popular among considerable sections of his supporters. He declined to support vote by ballot, would not swallow Triennial Parliaments, would not hear of household suffrage, and vindicated the rather unpopular vote by which he had resisted a retrospective inquiry into pensions granted by the Crown. Still his election met with little opposition.

On the occasion of the next contest, in 1837, Mr. Bannerman showed decided improvement, both in his intimate acquaintance with public topics and in his capacity of public speaking. Some of his off-hand replies were decided hits. Thus one respectable Conservative citizen had prepared himself with a list of laboriously prepared questions, the first of which he proceeded to read as follows: "Do you approve of the enormous influence which Daniel O'Connell has acquired in Ireland?" Mr. Bannerman replied, "I should like to see that influence reduced by

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redressing those grievances which gave Daniel O'Connell his power." This reply so staggered the questioner that amid laughter and cheers he subsided, convulsively thrusting into his pocket the paper over which he had wasted the midnight oil. Mr. Bannerman's election was unopposed. It may be remarked in passing, that from his first entry into Parliament he had become a great favourite and an intimate of Daniel O'Connell.

Mr. Bannerman's influence with the Government soon became very considerable and this was seen in many ways, but most notably, perhaps, when through Earl Grey he succeeded in securing £20,000 for the restoration of Marischal College. We will not further follow his Parliamentary career in detail. He was re-elected in 1839 and 1841, but in June, 1847, to the surprise and regret of his supporters, Mr. Bannerman announced he would not again offer himself to the constituency. His career as an Aberdeen representative has been thus summed up. "He was the first who represented our community in the Reformed Parliament, and who continued worthily to represent it down through the arduous struggles that issued in reform of our municipal institutions, the abolition of slavery in our colonies, the limitations of capital punishments, and the decisive triumph of Free Trade. On all these great subjects, and on many minor ones, the voice and

Mr. and Mrs. Bannerman

vote of Aberdeen through Mr. Bannerman were ever sure to be found on the right side. Long before he had entered on, or could have thought of, a Parliamentary career, Mr. Bannerman was to be found in the van of the Reform movement; sometimes ahead of even the more advanced members of his party. Nor was he a laggard afterwards in St. Stephen's. Many years before the country was ripe for such a measure he strenuously urged the abolition of Theological tests in the case of secular university professorships. He made no pretension to anything like pre-eminent intellectual power, natural or acquired; and in the initial steps of his public life he was not much of an orator. But everything that appeared to be of the nature of corruption or abuse, whether in local or general politics, found in him an uncompromising foe. He devoted to public interests and business for many years an assiduity and fidelity of which he bestowed only too little on his own; and the confidence he thus won from his fellow-citizens was justified by the reliance afterwards placed in him by such men as Lord Melbourne, Joseph Hume, and the Right Hon. Edward Ellice; as well as by the deference paid in the highest political circles to his opinions on questions affecting the political claims and welfare of Scotland.'

Many people now living testify to the fact that

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Mrs. Bannerman was a very brilliant and gifted woman, fitted to grace any station in life. By some, she was also thought to be remarkably ambitious and the possessor of all the talents of an astute politician. This may well have been the case, and it is not impossible that Mr. Bannerman's whole public career was largely shaped by his wife. For he was one of the simplest of men, and ambition for himself was by no means a pronounced characteristic. His wife's influence would certainly have had little effect on his first election, for while "Sandy" was worshipped by the Aberdonians, his beautiful young wife, much more brilliant than he, though she may have been, was never, with her dignified carriage and superior air, a general favourite. Yet, in many ways, even in Aberdeen, she contributed much to the success of his career.

It was eight years after his marriage that Mr. Bannerman was elected M.P., and Mr. Walker recalls how, as a lad, he captured one of the white and blue ribbon rosettes which Mrs. Bannerman distributed freely, from her window in Marischal Street, on the nomination day. Election days were generally graced by her presence, and she would drive through the streets and mix freely with the people. She was an admirable hostess, and many distinguished people were her guests. Early in Mr. Banner-

Mr. and Mrs. Bannerman

man's political career, on September 10, 1834, Aberdeen was honoured by a visit from the Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Brougham. He was presented with the freedom of the city, and after a dinner party in the evening, proceeded to Mr. Bannerman's house in Marischal Street, where he passed the night. The next day he breakfasted with Mr. Bannerman and his wife at their summer residence, Arthurseat. This interesting old house, beautifully situated on an elevation overlooking the Dee, is now the museum in Duthie Park. It is the only one of Mr. Bannerman's residences still standing. In the forties, when he and his wife were in Aberdeen, they lived at 154 Union Street, but this house had to make way for a new insurance building.

During the Parliamentary session the Bannermans always stayed with Dr. Guthrie, in Berkeley Street. And here they were constantly meeting with his friends, who were among the most distinguished people in London, men eminent in public life, science, art, and letters. We have already referred to such intimate friends as Wellington, Whewell, Faraday, Count D'Orsay, and Louis Blanc. Bannerman, too, made hosts of friends in Parliament, such as Daniel O'Connell, Lord John Russell, Joseph Hume, and Earl Grey, and he was proud to make them

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all acquainted with his wife. But by far his most intimate friend in Parliament was Lord Panmure of Brechin Castle. Although several years Bannerman's junior, many are the tales told of their escapades together as young men; but recital of these would take us too far afield. When in the north, Mr. and Mrs. Bannerman spent a great deal of time at Brechin Castle as Lord and Lady Panmure's guests. During one of their visits Queen Victoria sent a boar's head to Lord Panmure; and as a memento of the gift, Mrs. Bannerman and Lady Panmure extracted two of the large double teeth and each designed a bracelet with a tooth as centre. The bracelets were sent to the Queen for her inspection and approval, and she decidedly gave the palm of beauty to Mrs. Bannerman's. This bracelet is still preserved. It has an inscription, telling its history, and a pendent locket with Lord Panmure's name and coronet engraved. Dr. Guthrie was also a frequent visitor at Brechin Castle. Every summer after spending some time hunting and fishing in and around his ancestral home, and at Gannachy Bridge, he would go on to Brechin.

Although Mrs. Bannerman was not a favourite in Aberdeen the newspapers were in no wise backward in recording her social successes. In a newspaper of June, 1836, we find the item:



Mr. and Mrs. Bannerman

"Mr. Bannerman and his lady were at the Queen's drawing-room on Saturday last, in celebration of His Majesty's birthday.¹ Mrs. Bannerman's dress² is described as being most splendid and admirably calculated to display her naturally graceful and beautiful figure."

It will be recalled that Mrs. Bannerman's sister Mary was with Doctor Guthrie until her marriage in 1836, but between these sisters there was never a very strong bond of sympathy. Two little incidents may be mentioned to illustrate how the saintly woman of later life could in her early days be somewhat uncharitable and spiteful. On entering a drawing-room with her sister, at a large party, she was about to go in first, when she drew back and said, "You go first, my dear, you know you are the older." On another occasion there was to be a grand reception in the evening at Grosvenor House, and Mary, who was about to take a nap, asked her sister to wake her up in time to get ready. But Mary did not

¹ Presumably the birthday of George III, father of William IV.

The dress is described as follows: "A court costume (à la *Louis XIV*) composed of a superb citron and white-satin train lined with white; corsage and sleeves magnificently trimmed with *Chantilly* lace; petticoat of rich white satin handsomely trimmed with tulle and satin. Head-dress of white feathers. Lappets of fine Brussels lace, ornaments and diamonds."

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awake till the next morning. The sister explained, "You know, dear, you were sleeping so sweetly, I could not bear to wake you!" But between Margaret and her half-sister Anne there was throughout life the tenderest affection, and one cannot tell how her last years would have been spent in anything like comfort, were it not for the love and generous help of this half-sister.

Among many visitors at Dr. Guthrie's home, and other friends it may be mentioned that Mrs. Bannerman frequently met the great Dr. Chalmers. She knew well John Stuart Blackie, Professor of Greek in Edinburgh University, and the Earl of Elgin, who was for several years Governor-General of Canada. Mrs. Siddon's nieces, Fanny and Adelaide Kemble, she met frequently, especially the former, with whom she was a fellow-guest at the Dean of Carlisle's. But one of the greatest influences in Mrs. Bannerman's life was her intimacy with the then Duchess of Gordon, a lady of eminent piety and culture, known as "The Good Duchess." She was only a very few years older than Mrs. Bannerman, and married young to the Marquis of Gordon her position gave her access to the best society; but revelations of unblushing vice in high quarters distressed her, and led her to study the Bible for solace under her grief. She became a most earnest believer

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in the power of religion, and on becoming a Duchess, deliberately began a life of earnest devotion. Mrs. Bannerman's experiences were somewhat similar. She had been brought up very strictly by her aunt, and had had her intelligence quickened by a good education to the perception of all that was true and lovely and of good report. Society—and she always moved in the highest during the first twenty-five years of her married life—had many charms for her. As a conversationalist she had few equals, and she revelled in exchange of thought with the great souls that she met. But the coarseness and vice which she too was to find, coupled with much that was hollow and insincere, was revolting to her refined and cultured nature. At a critical period, when severe trials had to be met, she came to know the "Good Duchess," and it was not long before she clearly saw how possible it was "to live near God while moving in very varied society." She withdrew herself a good deal from the company in her stepfather's house and gave much time to thought and prayer. Her changed life was by no means sudden, and it antedated her departure from London by several years. It was not without a pang that some of her former pleasures were allowed to lapse, nor was it till the experience of further severe trials that she unreservedly

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gave herself up for the good of others. A lady in Oxford, who was living with Dr. Guthrie about 1850, writes of Mrs. Bannerman: "She was a very saintly woman. One thing I always remember is, that she always said her prayers *aloud*, especially her *midday* prayers. My room was next to hers, so that I could hear quite plainly. . . . In one family, through Lady Bannerman, family prayers are *never neglected*."

Although it was at St. George's, the most famous church in London for fashionable weddings, that Mrs. Bannerman was married, she always (before 1852) attended St. James' Church when in England. Her early training, and the same reasons which caused the Duchess of Gordon to leave the Church of England for the Free Church of Scotland, doubtless influenced her in the choice of a place of worship. In her husband Mrs. Bannerman found a congenial spirit, for although not as avowedly religious as herself, his pure and lofty character, high moral sense and reverence for sacred things, imparted a dignity and charm to his everyday life.

For over a score of years Mrs. Bannerman was a prominent and admired figure in the best London society; then, as her husband's duties called him away, she bade it farewell for ever.

Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

3. SIR ALEXANDER AND LADY BANNERMAN IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND AND THE BAHAMAS (1851-1857)

Mr. Bannerman was an optimist to a superlative degree. In political life, he never entertained a doubt of ultimate victory, and this stolid belief, combined with his popularity, unsullied honour and splendid courage, which was even more strongly displayed in later life, won for him a host of voters. In business life this optimism led him to embark, as we have seen, in many ventures; and in these he was almost invariably unsuccessful. Milne, Cruden and Company were in insolvent circumstances in 1828, and the Thomas Bannerman Company in 1834, while Mr. Bannerman further lost heavily in connection with the Arctic whale fishery. From being comparatively well-to-do, he was reduced to a condition verging on poverty; and at the age of sixty he had in prospect a life of continued toil. Indeed, for many years afterwards when he was longing for his loved Scotland he was forced by his circumstances to reside in distant lands.

In 1833 he was offered but had to refuse, a Lordship of the Treasury, and similarly in 1839 the clerkship of the Ordnance. Dreading the effect on his wife of the climates of Barbadoes, Antigua, and Jamaica, he had to refuse the

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Governorships of these places as they were offered to him. Near the end of 1850, however, the Governorship of Prince Edward Island, falling vacant on the death of Sir Donald Campbell—the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, on Lord Panmure's suggestion, offered Mr. Bannerman the government of that Colony, at the same time warning him that difficulties would beset his path on questions, both agrarian and political, which, for some time, had been a source of great discontent on the Island. Mr. Bannerman accepted the offer, on condition that he should have the power, according to the best of his judgment, on the one hand to uphold the law, on the other to redress the just grievances of the colonists; and he was accordingly vested by the Prime Minister with the fullest authority that a governor could ask. On February 3, 1851, he was knighted by the Queen at Buckingham Palace, and appointed Governor of Prince Edward Island. With his servant, he set sail for Halifax, from Liverpool, on the R.M.S. *Europa*, about the middle of February. At this time Lady Bannerman was under the care of a London oculist; her eyes were in an alarming condition, and for a long time she could write only with a desk for the blind; but they quite recovered, although she afterwards found it necessary to use a single eyeglass. Early in May she took

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the R.M.S. *Cambria* from Liverpool for Halifax, *en route* to her native Island, the "Garden of the Gulf."

Sir Alexander Bannerman arrived in Halifax on February 26, 1851. No railroads had yet been built in the Maritime Provinces and he left the city next day on the hundred and seventy mile coach or sleigh drive to Cape Tormentine. Winter communication with Prince Edward Island over the Straits of Northumberland at this time could only be carried on by means of "ice-boats,"¹ between Cape Tormentine on the mainland, and Cape Traverse on the Island. After stopping overnight at Truro and Amherst, Sir Alexander finally arrived at Cape Tormentine on March 3. He was detained here at the inn of one Tom Allen,²

¹ These boats are on runners and are still used. They are dragged by crew and passengers over fields of ice, and may be rowed when sheets of water or "lolly" are met with.

² The Tom Allen here referred to, an interesting and active old man of eighty-six, died last summer. He is a well-known character throughout the Maritime Provinces, having had charge of the winter mail service between the Capes for a period of sixty years. He well remembered Sir Alexander, whom he met on his arrival in Amherst. Having spent the night at Coffey's Hotel, the Governor told Allen to request the High Sheriff, Minister and other town dignitaries to call on him, before they would have to set out for Cape Tormentine. But Tom evidently thought His Excellency should have a much better "send off," so as he went through the town, he told every one he met that his presence was desired by the

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until Saturday, March 8, when he crossed the strait in an ice-boat in about five hours. On landing, Sir Alexander was met by the Colonial Secretary and a large number of the inhabitants. That evening he arrived in Charlottetown. On Monday he proceeded to the Council Chamber

Governor, until over a hundred people appeared at the hotel in response to the summons. Sir Alexander took the prank in the best of good humour, and heartily welcomed all "just as if he were one of ourselves."

During the halt at Cape Tormentine, it is related that Sir Alexander one day asked Allen if there was not some game to be found in the woods near by. "Oh yes, Governor," replied Tom: "we will get some partridge to-morrow." Before setting out, Tom abstracted some hens from a nearby hen-house and set them loose in the woods. The sportsmen entered the woods cautiously from another point, and Tom soon pointed out the tracks in the snow of a "partridge," surely near at hand. Sir Alexander's shot was successful. He expressed surprise that the "partridge" was black, but Tom readily explained that all partridge were "black in winter and grey in summer!" Shortly after their return, Sir Alexander was descended upon by the irate lady whose hen had been shot. Tom was caught; but the joke was taken in good part, and he received, from one of the numerous cases brought from Scotland, a "bottle" wherewith to drink the Governor's good health.

From time to time, as Allen came to Charlottetown with the mails, he would "have a chat" with the Governor; and when Lady Bannerman arrived, he received a special invitation to Government House to meet her: "I never heard any one laugh like her in my life. She kept it up the whole time I was there"—and any one who has met Tom Allen could well believe his statement.



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in the Colonial Building, and took the oath of office, administered by the Chief Justice. He was received by a guard of honour and a salute of the artillery. The Legislature assembled on March 25. In the opening speech, the Governor informed the House that Responsible Government would be granted on condition of compensation being allowed to retiring officers. The House acceded to the proposal, and a new government, sustained by a majority of the assembly, was accordingly formed in April.

Lady Bannerman arrived at Halifax on May 13, after a passage of ten days from Liverpool. Sir Alexander met her at Truro, and they crossed from Pictou to Charlottetown by the steamer *Rose* on May 19. At Pictou Her Excellency was honoured with an artillery salute, and in Charlottetown there was a general illumination in her honour on the night of her arrival.

In this manner, after nearly fifty-one years, Margaret Gordon returned, as Governor's Lady, to her native city. Just after the *Rose* entered the harbour, Lady Bannerman may have noticed on the left a beautiful stretch of farm and woodland. Here her grandfather, Governor Walter Patterson, lived for some time, and here her mother was born. As the steamer moved along across the mouth of the York river, she may have been gazing unknowingly, on the little house near the

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riverside, where she, her sister Mary, and her loved brother, Edward, had romped as children. Nearer at hand, on the harbour-front, was the large wooden building, Government House, which was to be her future home. Did some memory of her aunt's descriptions of her father's final struggles come back to her? Was she wondering if her strength would be equal to the task of meeting her obligations under these new conditions, with a spirit of "sweetness and light"? In contrast to the small wooden buildings of the town was she recalling the castles and palaces and beautiful homes where for twenty-five years she had been wont to consort with many of the most brilliant and cultured people of the time? A host of such thoughts doubtless came to her in these first days in the New World.

Nevertheless, Lady Bannerman at once became thoroughly identified with her position. In the summer of 1851 the Sons of Temperance had a great public demonstration in Charlottetown and invited Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman to be present. The following reply was sent by Lady Bannerman:—

"Dear Mr. Attorney-General,

"I regret extremely that Sir Alexander and I cannot be present at the grand Demonstration of the Sons of Temperance, but perhaps you will

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kindly express to them our united wishes that they may have all the pleasure they anticipate from their annual Festival. As a decided well-wisher to the cause of Temperance in general, and to this society in particular, I have to request you to present to them in my name Five Pounds, as a small mark of my approbation, with my most earnest hopes that their numbers may daily increase, bringing joy and peace into many a home where now sorrow and strife reign.

"I have been much interested of late in this fraternity by the pleasing accounts I have learned of its success from Mr. Butcher, and a very intelligent man in the employment of Mr. Butcher's son, of the name of Fielding.¹

"Believe me, very truly yours,

"M. BANNERMAN."

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

"20th June, 1851."

Early in July Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman made a tour of Prince County and they were everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm. People came from far and near and as many as fifty vehicles were sometimes proceeding in their train as a sort of bodyguard. At one

¹ This Mr. Fielding, who died only a few years ago, was an uncle of Hon. W. S. Fielding, Canadian Finance Minister. He worked for many years as a cabinet maker in Mr. Butcher's employ

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point "His Excellency was honoured with a salute from a twelve-pounder," and at another, "whilst the music of the pipes was diffusing that enthusiasm which none but the children of the Gael can adequately feel, many an elderly matron and blithe 'John Anderson my Joe,' as well as the coy lassies and braw laddies, hurried their steps through the mazes of the Scottish reel, to the infinite delight of Lady Bannerman, who witnessed the performance."

Among the addresses presented was one from the "Clergy, Magistrates and Farmers of Cas-cumpec." The following reference was made to Lady Bannerman:—

"We fondly hope that Lady Bannerman's residence *on this her native soil* may be agreeable, and that to the end of her life she may look back upon the time spent in this Island with pleasure and satisfaction; and we would request your Excellency to convey to her Ladyship our warmest wishes for her happiness."

To this portion of the address, Sir Alexandre replied:—

"Lady Bannerman has been delighted with her tour, and though all her early recollections are associated with the country she in which was educated and brought up, she cannot fail to have

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an affectionate interest in the Island of her birth, and from the people of which, since her arrival, she has experienced so much kindness."

The reference to Lady Bannerman's birthplace in the Cascumpec address is of interest, as showing that some people on "the Island" had kept track of Mrs. Gordon and her family after they left for Nova Scotia in 1800. Moreover, it has been stated more than once that years before the first published statement, in 1881, that Margaret Gordon was the original of the Blumine in *Sartor Resartus*, "Islanders" were interested in reading *Sartor* because the heroine had been born and reigned as governor's lady in their midst. If this were true Lady Bannerman herself must have been the original authority for the statement. But this view cannot be sustained by proof.

Late in August Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman made a similar tour of King's County, and were, as before, received with the greatest cordiality.

It was at this time that a handsome silver table service was completed in London at a cost of over £500 sterling, and despatched to Sir Alexander. The beautiful candelabrum,¹ which was the centre-piece of the service, bore the inscription

¹ Engraved in *Illustrated London News*.

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"Presented to

His Excellency,

Sir ALEXANDER BANNERMAN, Knt.,

Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island,

By his Friends and Constituents in Aberdeen.

In testimony of their sense of the great and effective services he had rendered on many occasions to their city during the fifteen years he represented them in Parliament, and the great regard and affection they entertain for his personal worth and character.—1851."

Severance from the "dear land" with such a token of affection from absent friends would surely become more tolerable!

Lady Bannerman took a deep interest in St. Paul's Church, and was at the head of various societies connected with it. She is most affectionately remembered to this day by one of the surviving pupils in her Sunday-school class. It was in St. Paul's Church, though not in the same building in which Lady Bannerman worshipped, that she herself, her sister Mary, and her brother Edward were baptized nearly sixty years before. But Lady Bannerman was especially interested in the Bog or West End School. This charity school for coloured and other poor children was supported by St. Paul's Church and the Colonial Church Society, and was closed only

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a few years ago. In this connection it may be interesting to reproduce two little notes written to Miss Sarah Harvie, who was a teacher there for fifty-six years and who has only recently died:—

"Lady Bannerman thinks it will do most good if Miss Harvey (*sic*) select six girls who deserve her approbation to have a present of frocks in summer after they have made progress in sewing, and six younger ones to have something easier to do—the girls to be taken from those *now* at school.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 26th March, 1852."

The second note is as follows:—

"Lady Bannerman presents her compliments to Miss Harvie. She will be happy to see her and the girls who have made their frocks and pinafores to-morrow week at 11 o'clock.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 16th September, 1853

"P.S.—Lady Bannerman regrets she cannot name to-morrow, but hopes nothing will interfere to prevent receiving the little party to-morrow week."

Lady Bannerman's interest in the Bore School remained unabated almost up to the day of her death.

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From the reminiscences of several friends of this period we present those of a lady, now living in Glasgow, whose husband occupied for a number of years an important position in connection with the schools of Prince Edward Island.

"It was my privilege to be frequently a guest at Government House—sometimes for weeks at a time—and I have ever esteemed it one of the greatest blessings of my life that I came under her influence in my youth and enjoyed Lady Bannerman's friendship and correspondence until within a few years of her death. . . . A fair, handsome, gracious woman with high-bred, charming manners, reigning as queen of society at Government House, her husband's right hand in all his official life—giving sympathy and help by wise counsel in times of difficulty and tiding over many a social emergency by her graceful tact and amiability. Few women of her century have possessed such true and wide culture or such grasp of intellect, and with all she was one of the most humble, sincere, and consistent Christians I have ever met. Had Carlyle only had the courage to go in and win when they were both young, his career would have had a different development and his influence for good might have been immeasurably increased. Still, knowing his *Blumine* as I did, and also her manly, excellent husband—simple and guileless as a

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schoolboy in many things, but far-seeing and firm as a rock on matters of principle—I cannot help thinking she was far happier than if the might-have-been had become a reality." Having inquired of this correspondent whether Lady Bannerman had spoken of her relations to Carlyle, she replied: "I never heard from herself that there had been any love passages between them. I know she had very strict ideas of the duty of womanly reticence on such matters, and my first information on that point was from an article in *Macmillan's Magazine*. She, however, talked freely of Carlyle's character and of his works then before the world, especially the *Miscellanies* with the articles on Burns, Goethe, etc., but she talked more of Edward Irving who had been her tutor in mathematics." In response to other inquiries, this lady wrote: "Sir Alexander conducted family prayers every evening before their late dinner—but this seemed less from his own initiative than from his wife's influence. . . . She was ever the kindest of mistresses, the friend of every servant in her household, and adored by all who could appreciate her kindness. All her life she considered the poor and had grateful dependents scattered everywhere."

On May 8, 1854, Sir Alexander Bannerman was appointed Governor of the Bahamas. As

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soon as this appointment became known, a memorial dated June 3, and signed by nearly seven thousand people, was presented to His Excellency, who was assured "that in no portion of Her Majesty's Dominions could your Excellency find hearts more deeply and fervently attached than the thousands in this small section of the Empire which throb in gratitude at the remembrance of the wisdom, integrity, and unwavering regard for the public interests by which your Excellency's administration of the government of the Island has been distinguished." There was also in the memorial "warmest aspirations" for the individual happiness of Sir Alexander and his "amiable lady."

On June 10, amid cheering crowds and the roar of salutes from St. George's Battery, the much-beloved couple sailed away on the packet, *H. Ingram*, for Pictou. Thus did Margaret Gordon, Lady Bannerman, bid a "long, long adieu" to her native land!

They arrived at Halifax on the evening of the thirteenth and remained till June 21, when they took the steamer *Canada* for Boston, which was reached two days later. After a short stay spent in visiting Harvard College and other places of interest, Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman proceeded to Niagara Falls, where they were to meet friends direct from bonnie Scotland. It will

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he recalled that Sir Alexander had been in business with his brother Thomas. This brother married and had a family. One son settled in Canada, and his mother, his sisters Jane and Euphemia, and his brother George, afterward the tenth Baronet, had just come out to visit him. It was this group which they planned to meet at Niagara. Sir Alexander's niece Jane decided to accompany him to the Bahamas, and they left for New York, intending to sail from that port. But Lady Bannerman became ill, and the doctor who was called in said she must not go to so hot a climate until the cooler season had begun, and recommended a rest at a fashionable watering-place near Boston, called Nahant. It was here for many years that Longfellow was "building up life with solid blocks of idleness," but during the months that Lady Bannerman was there he was happily at work on *Hiawatha*. These were days of real enjoyment for Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman and their niece, and they made many pleasant acquaintances. Besides Longfellow, they were frequently meeting Prescott the historian, Agassiz, Felton the classical scholar, afterwards President of Harvard, and others. The niece recalls that "they often said to me, 'We have no such woman in the States as Lady Bannerman.'"

"In September," her narrative continues, "she

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was so much better that, instead of returning to England, as it was feared she might have to do, we went to the little town of Eastport and sailed from there to the Bahamas in a sailing vessel with a very tipsy captain. Dear Uncle Sandy and the mate had to take command and brought us safely through many changes and a long becalming in the Gulf Stream—oh, how hot it was!—to the pretty island of New Providence with its picturesque cocoa-nut trees. We thought how Columbus must have rejoiced to see it, his first sight of the West Indies. Dear Aunt Bannerman was a heroine during that voyage of *three weeks*, so bright herself and keeping everyone else bright." The little party arrived safely at Nassau on October 12. It was not by any means Sir Alexander's first experience in sailing a ship, as he was very fond of the sea and had made several voyages from Aberdeen.

His administration of the government of the Bahamas was very successful, and he received before his departure unanimous addresses from the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly, complimenting him on the uninterrupted harmony which had existed in the colony, among all parties, during his tenure of office.

The most notable event of these three years was the marriage of his niece, Miss Jane Banner-

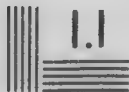
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man, to Captain Millington Syngé,¹ R.E., in August, 1855. This wedding was almost a royal affair, which was not inappropriate, since Lady Bannerman was invariably spoken of as "the Queen of the Bahamas." Not one in the Island was without a white satin wedding favour. All the available bells in the town were transferred to the steeple of Christ Church, and hourly from six in the morning they were rung merrily. The Church and Government grounds were gaily decorated with flags and garlands. Captain Syngé was intimately connected with the children's schools of the "Woodstock Foundation," and as the bride and bridegroom passed from the church to Government House in a carriage drawn by mules decorated with white silk nets and tassels—on either side of them were nearly seven hundred of the school children, wearing

¹ Captain Syngé was a F.R.G.S., and a lecture he delivered in Nassau about this time was entitled "The North-West a Highway to the East." The views which he then put forward were, fifty years later, definitely carried into effect by the Canadian Pacific Railway. In more recent times Captain Syngé became a Major-General, and his death occurred not long ago. He is the author of: 1. *Canada in 1848*. Lond. 1848. 2. *Great Britain One Empire*. 1852. 3. *The Country v. The Company*. 1861. 4. *The Colony of Rupert's Land: Where is it, and by what Title held? A Dialogue*. 1863. 5. *On the Defence of England: A Military Sketch*. Portsmouth, 1872.



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART



2.8



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little red caps and bearing brilliant banners inscribed with blessings and warm-hearted wishes.

Mrs. Synge is still living and converses delightfully of her life in the "Isle of June," as New Providence has been aptly called. No child had come to Lady Bannerman, and so great was her reserve that few ever knew her craving for love and the depths of affection welling up in her nature. But Mrs. Synge and her husband were "My dear children" and experienced, as probably no others, the knowledge of this side of her nature. During her children's honeymoon, spent at an old Spanish castle, Lady Bannerman paid them a visit. On her return with Sir Alexander, she wrote almost at once:—

"Wednesday Evening,

"9 o'clock.

"It began to rain immediately after we left our dear children, and rained at intervals, but not unpleasantly, all the way in. My mind was so occupied thinking of you both, and talking of you, that I cared little for the damp. Your uncle was much pleased with his visit, liked everything, and had only one regret, in common with us all, that you, dear Millington, were evidently not as strong as we would wish to see. That blessing will follow the others with which our Heavenly Father surrounds us, and we will be

Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

thankful you have not suffered more weakness, from the very severe attack of Saturday night. . . . I blame myself for having forgot your recent attack, so as to encourage the long walk on the beach last evening, but you were so bright and active, I believed you well, and was less watchful than I ought to have been. I was desirous to leave you both this morning that you might rest, and, I trust, you did so, and were strengthened, but I am not satisfied to have you so far away. I like you to be alone together, but would gladly be able to know every few hours how you are. When you are well, dearest Millington, as you were before the fatigue of the Juvenile feast, I shall be less anxious. Trustful I am, very trustful, but the Shamrock mother¹ would hover near her loved ones. This house looks dull and cheerless without you, and I would always have you to remember that though I would not draw you from the seclusion so congenial to your feelings, that the moment a change of air appears likely to be beneficial, *this is your home*, and your rooms are always ready. Never wait for a stated day, but order your carriage, whenever too much damp or any other cause shall tell you

¹ "She was not so called because of her Irish extraction," writes Mrs. Synge, "but because she was one of my three mothers—my own mother Lady Synge, my mother-in-law, and herself."

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you ought to leave your retreat. You shall do exactly as you please here—see no one, unless you choose.”

“I passed a good examination to-day,¹ but only fancy your uncle telling some of his acquaintances, who were loading him with compassion for his and our supposed torments, that on Monday night, having had no mosquito net, he had heard *two* of these creatures buzzing in the room—only two! What bloodhounds they must have been to drive our dear old fox so slyly and stealthily to covert! How I have enjoyed the recollection of that night. I wonder if he thinks I did not see him. . . .”

Government House in Nassau is a somewhat modest looking dwelling, erected on the highest of the surrounding hills, and commanding a fine view of the town and harbour. It is at the top of a long street leading from the quay and is approached by a very long flight of steps, in front of which is a statue of Columbus. Mrs. Synge recalls that her aunt, after marriage, lived mostly in London, “where she was a society

¹ The allusion here is to Sir Alexander's anxiety about Lady Bannerman who had been tormented by mosquitoes. The reference in what follows is to Sir Alexander scorning a mosquito netting for his bed. During the night, when there were millions of mosquitoes instead of “two,” the “old fox” stealthily slipped to covert under his wife's netting.

Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

queen, and her reminiscences of that period—the early Victorian days, the time of the Queen's marriage and accession—were most interesting. Many happy hours have I spent listening to her delightful memories of that time and people, as we paced up and down the verandah at Government House of an evening—those lovely hot evenings in the Bahamas—Uncle Sandy sitting at the far end humming to himself his favorite Scotch songs, and taking a look through his telescope at the beautiful many-colored sea, with ships on the horizon—that was a very happy time."

"Before my marriage we were more like girl friends than aunt and niece, for she was very youthful in spirit, so different from what she appeared to the outside world when she assumed the manners and bearing of 'La Grande Dame,' which she did to perfection; but that was not her real nature, for she was tender and loving and craved for love in return. . . . When anything rude or coarse was said to her, she had a way of slowly raising her head and shutting her eyes, without a word, which was decidedly awe-inspiring. . . . On her arrival in the Bahamas, she offended many by looking through her eyeglass and saying, '*very colonial*'; nevertheless, when she became better known she was admired and beloved. . . . She was greatly interested in the

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black population, especially the children, and young girls, who were most devoted to her. . . . I was surprised when I read of her early acquaintance with Carlyle; as far as I remember, she never even mentioned his name to me. . . ."

Lady Bannerman found the climate very trying, and after a reign as "Queen of the Bahamas" for two years, was compelled to return to England. Her stepfather, Dr. Guthrie, had died the previous spring, and her half-sister, much broken in health, was touring in Europe. She renewed her intimacy with the Duchess of Gordon and other old friends, and in the early part of 1857 was visiting Mrs. Lowry Guthrie in Paris. In March of this year she had returned to Halifax, where she awaited her husband's arrival from the Bahamas. He had been appointed Governor of Newfoundland on February 7, but some difficulties had arisen, and it was not till May 10 that he bade farewell to Nassau. Mr. and Mrs. Synge and their little daughter had arrived in the United States and were about to visit their brother's home, "Glenbanner," in Canada, before proceeding to Newfoundland. This explains the following letter to her "children," written at this time from Halifax: —



Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

" HALIFAX,

"May 26th, 1857.

" My dear Children

" I was much obliged to you for the telegraphic message, and heartily rejoice that you are on this side of the Gulf Stream. I wrote to you by last Bermuda Mail to Nassau, not knowing whether you had left. I am all in the dark as far as news from any of you is concerned, but trust, if it be God's will, I may have the happiness of soon seeing my dear husband. I have heard from Mrs. Robinson,¹ who has only recently gone from this, that her husband never seemed to suppose there was any difficulty about the Newfoundland appointment, he being at Head Quarters was likely to be well informed. But he writes that there has been much confusion owing to the recent changes.

" *Your route*, I mean Millington's, appears to be seriously taken into consideration. I am anxious to learn more about it, and hope I shall before long get a report from him *viva voce*. What a happy meeting you will have with the Glenbanner party. I should like to see you altogether [*sic*], the first niece and grandchild is doubtless a very important little personage, and I am sure her papa will be cordially welcomed.

" I am longing to get to our new home, but

¹ A friend in Prince Edward Island.

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cannot yet say when I may expect to reach it. So many delays have occurred I hardly dare think of a particular day. I have received unbounded kindness here, and made some real friends among those whom I should always wish to have as friends, the people of God. Dr. Twining¹ has been especially my first, he came to see me, a day or two after I arrived, and of his own accord too, and his acquaintance is a privilege I highly prize. I write only a short letter, but hope to send you another when we get to the new Government House. May every blessing be yours. My love to each and all. Ever your much attached,

M. BANNERMAN."

Sir Alexander arrived from Boston on the R.M.S. *Niagara* on June 4, and on the same day he and Lady Bannerman took the *Merlin* for St. John's, Newfoundland.

4. SIR ALEXANDER AND LADY BANNERMAN IN NEWFOUNDLAND (1857-64)

Sir Alexander with Lady Bannerman arrived in St. John's early on the morning of June 8, and the next day, in the presence of the civil and military authorities, he took the oaths of office and assumed the administration of the government,

¹ Rev. J. T. Twining, D.D., Garrison Chaplain.

Halefan
26th May 1857

My dear Children

I was much
obliged to you for the telegraphic
message, and heartily rejoice
that you are on this side of
the Gulf Stream - I wrote to you
by last Bermudas Mail to Napan,
not knowing, whether you had
left - I am all in the dark
as far as news from any of you
is concerned, but trust, if it be
Gods will, I may have the
happiness of soon seeing my

Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

over which he was to preside for upwards of seven years. The early part of this period was marked by prosperity and notable events. In 1858 the first Atlantic cable was landed at Trinity Bay, and there were great rejoicings in St. John's in honour of Cyrus Field, to whose indefatigable energy success was due.¹ Another event of importance was the arrival in St. John's of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, now King Edward VII, on his way to Canada and the United States. His visit, which lasted from July 22 to 25, 1860, was a complete success. "We did honour to our future sovereign," writes Mr. Prowse, the Newfoundland historian, "by a grand ball,² a regatta, a review, and the gift of a dog from the breed of the celebrated Bat Sullivan. Much of the success of the Prince's visit was due to Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman, the Duke of Newcastle's tact, and the geniality and refined courtesy of old Earl St. Germans. . . . All went merry as a marriage

¹ This cable collapsed in about a month. The second cable was landed in 1866.

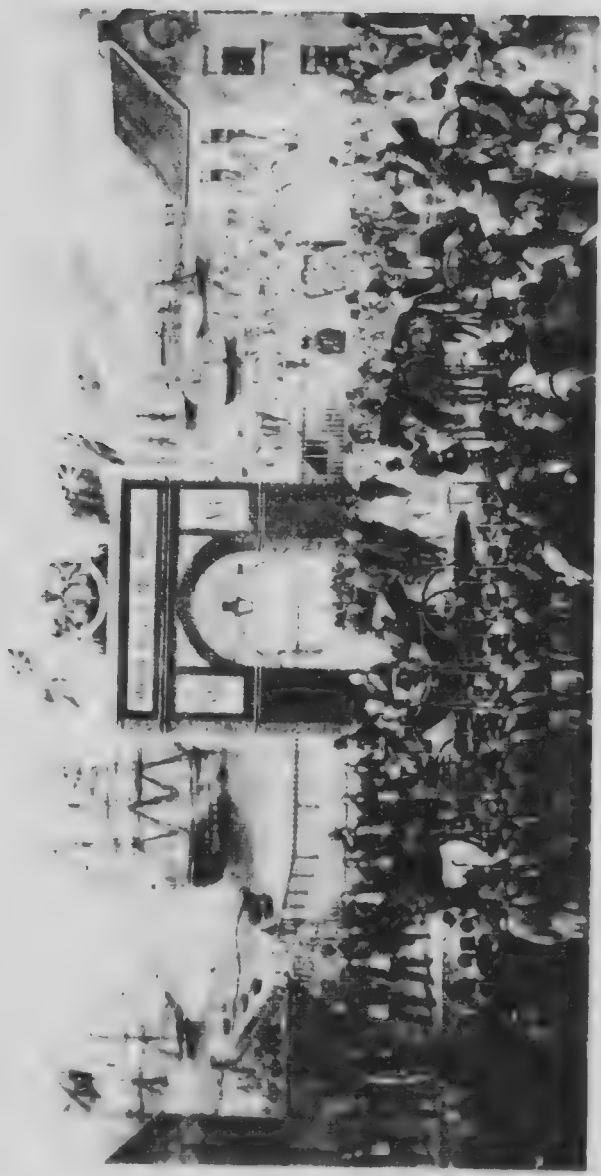
² Some of the young Prince's experiences at the ball must have been highly amusing. Among the ladies with whom he danced was an Irish dame, Lady Grady. In the course of conversation he addressed her as *Mrs.* Grady. Overhearing a reminder from his aide that her title had been omitted, Lady Grady nudged the Prince in the ribs and remarked, "Frinds drops toitles!"

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bell during the three lovely summer days of the Prince's stay among us."

Lady Bannerman's views on dancing as a form of social amusement had become much more strict after the years she had spent in Charlottetown, where she gave several balls each year; for not once during the whole seven years she spent in St. John's did she and Sir Alexander give a ball. She explained her feelings on the subject to the Prince, who most graciously excused her absence from the ball given in his honour. In the room which the Prince occupied at Government House is a large Bible, and on the fly-leaf may be seen in Lady Bannerman's handwriting: "This Bible was placed here for the Prince of Wales. It is hoped it may be allowed to remain."

The interesting old photograph which is reproduced on another page represents the landing of the Prince of Wales. He is standing and Sir Alexander is sitting before him in the carriage, in the foreground. Lady Bannerman is not to be seen in this picture as she awaited the Prince's arrival at Government House. On his departure the Prince, with the Earl of St. Germans and His Excellency and Lady Bannerman, had no sooner entered the carriage at Government House than the horses were unharnessed and a number of fine, stalwart fellows came forward from amongst the crowd and insisted on taking the place of



Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

the horses and drawing the carriage themselves. Arriving at the wharf-gate, the Prince accompanied Lady Bannerman to the landing stage, farewells were spoken, and the ships were soon underway for Halifax. As a souvenir of His Highness's visit Lady Bannerman was presented with a beautiful emerald and diamond bracelet, and shortly after his departure the Prince also sent her three large signed photographs of himself and sisters.

In a recent memoir the following mention is made of the Prince's visit: "There were the usual ceremonies, a procession through crowded streets, a presentation of addresses, a review of the volunteers, a levee and a luncheon at the residence of the Governor, Sir Alexander Bannerman. He was an aged, able-bodied Scotchman, and Lady Bannerman a splendid Scotch dame of measured forms of speech and person. Acland would never have guessed that his hostess was Margaret Gordon, the first love of Thomas Carlyle. The Governor himself was a homely man in many ways. Plain black with white cravat was in the orders for the dinner costume, and Sir A. Bannerman being without the latter article borrowed it from one of the Prince's footmen and with much simplicity related the fact at dinner to the Prince."

In this same year (1860) political troubles

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clouded the horizon in Newfoundland. Old religious dissensions unhappily once more broke out in connection with the elections, bringing in their train some deplorable results. The party which had been most energetic in securing responsible government, had held the reins of authority for some years. In the session of 1861, however, the colonial judges having addressed a representation to the Governor with reference to a Bill of the Colonial Ministry affecting their salaries, the Premier of the Colony, Mr. Kent, so far forgot himself as to charge the Governor with having entered into a conspiracy with the judges against the executive. Sir Alexander immediately wrote requesting an explanation of this charge. Mr. Kent replied that he did not consider himself called upon to give to His Excellency an account of his utterances as a member of the Legislature. It was an awkward thing that the Governor quarrelled with the Colonial Premier over what might be thought by many a merely personal matter; but Sir Alexander had to consider what was due to his position as the representative of Her Majesty. He felt that if he could thus be insulted with impunity, he was no longer worthy to fill the honourable and responsible post that had been assigned to him. So the Ministry was immediately dismissed, and the reins of govern-

Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

ment entrusted to the leader of the Opposition, who dissolved the assembly and appealed to the country. In the election that ensued, Sir Alexander's attitude was amply supported, but party feeling ran high. There were many riotous outrages, accompanied by wanton destruction of property, bloodshed, and even loss of life. Sir Alexander in proceeding to open the new House of Assembly had to take the protection of an unusually strong military guard. He was assailed in the streets with angry outcry, stones were thrown at his carriage, and a violent mob surrounded the Colonial Building and attempted to break through the doors. On the afternoon of the same day riotous crowds wrecked the houses and property of those obnoxious to them in St. John's and attacked a small force of military sent out to restore order. For nearly two hours the commander endeavoured in vain to make the mob retire peaceably, then he reluctantly gave the order to fire. Three people were killed and twenty wounded. Fearing continued trouble, Sir Alexander cabled to Halifax for reinforcements.¹ But the anticipated further difficulties did not materialize, and the next day the town was as quiet as usual. To a man of Sir

¹ "General Sir G. H. D'Almeida, Halifax—This Garrison must be sent to St. John's. The mob must be lost in a single restoration of order. I have sent from other colonies, many having sailing to-day."

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Alexander Bannerman's warm impulses, these incidents must have been most painful. But when he finally relinquished his post, some three years later, the memory of these unhappy events was gradually fading away; sectarian strife was at an end, and it had become the settled rule that all religious parties should be fairly represented in the Administration; and for three months addresses expressing regret for his departure poured in upon him from all classes of people, and from all parts of the Island. Here as in Aberdeen he was affectionately referred to as "Sandy" Bannerman.

Many people in St. John's recall how every day about noon, and unattended even in the most troublous times (with the single exception above noted), Sir Alexander might be seen walking along with his tall hat drawn down over his brows, on his way to the grocery shop of an Aberdonian, George Emsley; and each day "Geordie" would place the "usual" before His Excellency, who, tilting his hat on the back of his head, took his dram with the keenest pleasure, no matter who were in the shop. Sir Alexander was rarely without his snuff-box.

guns. Lord Musgrave will sanction. Our instructions being to give or ask aid on emergencies.—A. BANNERMAN." (Canadian Archives, Ottawa.) On May 15 two hundred men of the 62nd Regiment were sent, on one of the Cunard steamers.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

This and a large red handkerchief are well remembered items of his equipment. Many stories are told about him during this period. But one decidedly characteristic anecdote must suffice. He had been rather poorly, but his grand constitution pulled him through. When his doctor came and pronounced him convalescent, he added, "I am very glad, Sir Alexander, to see you so well. I had to use very strong remedies to bring you through." The hardy old Scot replied, "Oh, d——n your strong remedies; come here to the press and you may take them all away with you, for I never used any of them."

To what extent Lady Bannerman was responsible for the success with which Sir Alexander dealt with the turbulent elements in England's oldest colony, and finally finished his public career with so much honour, will never be known. But that Sir Alexander worshipped his wife and thought no one in the world could compare with her, that he sought her advice and counsel at all times, that her keen intelligence could easily grapple with problems to him difficult, and that she tided over many emergencies by her innate tact, are facts well known in her family. That for the score of years before her death Lady Bannerman lived the most saintly life, in which there was no longer the earlier craving for worldly pleasure, and from which the ambition, pride, and haughti-

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ness of her earlier days had been eliminated, has been attested by many people. In St. John's she was exceedingly kind and charitable to the poor, and she and Lady Hoyles were active workers in the Dorcas Society. She worshipped at St. Thomas' (Episcopal) Church, and was especially interested in her Sunday-school class. As we have seen, her sympathies were more with the Presbyterian Church, but probably because of her husband's official position, she always chose in the colonies to connect herself with the Church of England. She was by no means bigoted. She organized union prayer meetings in St. John's, and in other ways did much to bring the various denominations together. In a parting address presented to Sir Alexander by the Methodist Conference of Newfoundland occurs the sentence : "And we wish to assure Your Excellency, and your amiable and excellent Lady—who in her sphere has been 'a burning and a shining light'—that you will be followed by the fervent prayers of the people whom we have the privilege to represent."

Lady Bannerman's piety and her efforts to unify the means for Christian endeavour were evidently not wholly appreciated by some Roman Catholics ; for at the time of the 1861 riots, when Sir Alexander and Bishop Mullock were discussing the placing of the women and children of the city

Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

in the convent Sir Alexander remarked that he thought of sending Her Ladyship thither. The Bishop at once vehemently exclaimed, "God forbid!"

Lady Bannerman's religion was a very real thing to her, and it is related that at the height of the hilarity of one of her dinner parties she created a sensation by asking an old Scotch divine who was present to read from "the Book" and "engage the company in devotional exercises." In place of the customary Government House Balls Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman gave a great many delightful dinners and musical evenings. Lady Bannerman herself neither sang nor played, but an intimate of several years recalls that "she appreciated all that was good, both vocal and instrumental." Sir Alexander used to sing old Scottish songs with great taste, such as *The Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie*, *Leazy Lindsay*, etc.

Sir Alexander would never have been accused of being notoriously pious, and he was wont to comment on his wife's religious activities, "She has her little ways, and we agree to differ." A friend who visited at Government House recalls a stormy Sunday, when all were confined indoors. Shortly after breakfast Lady Bannerman commenced to read a sermon, and soon Sir Alexander was fast asleep. As the

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murmur of her voice ceased he woke up with the exclamation, "A verra interestin' sermon"! The humours of his youthful days would crop up in the delight he frequently took in teasing his wife. If, on a Sunday, they were sitting quietly together and he suddenly overheard the cry of some vendor of newspapers, of berries, or of something of this kind, he would immediately rush off to make a purchase. If he was sure he had his wife's eye on him, he delighted in shocking her æsthetic sense and in receiving her reproof for, say, eating a fish from his fingers instead of with fork from a plate.

Lady Bannerman dispensed the hospitality of Government House with the dignity and grace which might be expected of one who for over thirty years had moved in the best society of England. She had the power of putting all at their ease, of identifying herself with their individual interests, and of entering with animation into the affairs of the hour. But while she was kind and gracious and frank, and would freely enter into conversation with anyone, there was always a certain dignity which prevented any attempt at undue familiarity. One of her most intimate friends and kindred spirits in St. John's was "a man of God," Nicholas Thomas, farmer and milkman, who owned the farm near St. John's known as Bally Haly.



Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

The year 1864 was destined to be a sad one in Lady Bannerman's life. In the first month of this year the "Good Duchess," whose influence on her life had been so great, was called to rest from her labours, and the last month of the year was to bring a much heavier trial.

Amid expressions of regret on every side, Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman left St. John's, September 8, 1864, by the *Merlin*, for Halifax, where they arrived on the eleventh. On the sixteenth they sailed in the R.M.S. *Europa* for Liverpool, where they spent several days with their friends Mr. and Mrs. Robert Christie. They then went on to Hereford for two or three weeks with the Dean and Mrs. Dawes (Miss Guthrie was then also staying with the Dean), and had a very happy time together. Sir Alexander's last portrait, taken at this time, shows him as an old man of seventy-six. Latterly he had aged rapidly.

For years—in the Bahamas and in Newfoundland—he had been longing for his dear Scotland, where he hoped to die and be buried, and his hopes seemed near of realization, as he had planned after settling up some business at the Colonial Office to take up his residence in Aberdeen. In early November he and Lady Bannerman took up their residence in London at 1 Cumberland Street, Eccleston Square. This was a

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furnished house belonging to the widow of Dr. F. H. Thomson, a lifelong friend of Dr. Guthrie and one of the leading surgeons of the day. Sir Alexander's business with the Colonial Office was progressing satisfactorily when he took a bad cold and was confined to his house in a rather enfeebled condition. One evening after dinner, as he was descending the stairs to the drawing-room, he tripped and fell down the whole flight of stairs. His head was severely injured, and he was picked up in an unconscious condition. Next day and the day following he was able to walk about; but on the third day effusion on the brain and paralysis ensued, and he died on the evening of December 30.¹

In editorial comment upon his death, one of the principal Newfoundland newspapers remarked:

"Sir Alexander's large political experience and unflinching integrity in the discharge of his official duties gained for him the esteem of every lover of order and of good government,

¹ Rather curiously there was another Alexander Bannerman (no relative of Sir Alexander Bannerman), who also died December 30, 1864, but at Louth Cottage, Chorley. Boase confuses these two men in his *Modern English Biography*. Sir Alexander was at one time offered a baronetcy, but he refused on account of the baronetcy of *Baronet*, already held by his family. The other was a *Baronet* at the time of his death.

Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman

and we know that some who did not regard him with favour have, since he left us, learned to look upon him as one of the best and most intelligent governors ever sent to Newfoundland. We cannot but express our regret at the death of Sir Alexander Bannerman, for although he had arrived at a good old age, yet we naturally feel the demise of a kind and upright gentleman whom to know privately was a great privilege, and to enjoy whose friendship was a desirable favour."

Judge Prowse, in his history, makes the following estimate :—

"He will long be honoured in our memories as an honest, straightforward administrator; a genial, kindly, liberal old Scotchman, with a dry, pawky humour, essentially Aberdonian. I do not remember that he had any prejudice in the world except against the Galway Line."¹

Another speaks of him as "a large-souled hospitable gentleman who never forgot an old friend." Many people in Prince Edward Island are named after Sir Alexander Bannerman, as are also Bannerman Street, Bannerman Road, and Bannerman Park in St. John's.

Sir Alexander's salary of £2000 had scarcely

¹ The allusion here is to a line of steamers running from New York to Galway via St. John's, Newfoundland.

Carlyle's First Love

more than met the demands made upon it by his hospitality and charity and business experiences of earlier years; and, in making provision for the future, Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman had unselfishly taken too little account of themselves. For this reason, in part, the burial took place in Kensal Green, and "Dear Auld Scotland" was not to embrace her own. Not only must we regret that (away from the homeland) *here* he rests—but here, alone, while the wife whom he worshipped, in another place, rests also alone. One of the slanting sides (the other is vacant) of his granite tomb bears the inscription:

"In Affectionate Memory of

SIR ALEXANDER BANNERMAN,

Late Governor of Newfoundland and Many Years

Member of Parliament

For the City of Aberdeen,

Who died 30th December, 1864, aged 76."

Authorities.—Register of Baptisms, St. Paul's Church, Aberdeen, 1788 (printed by New Spalding Club, 1900)—*Bon Accord. Records and Reminiscences of Aberdeen Grammar School*, 1906, p. 184; cf. also *The Sketch*, June 22, 1898—*House of Gordon*, ed. J. M. BULLOCH, "Gordons of Gight," p. 139—*Report from the Select Committee to whom Petitions from the Royal Burghs of Scotland were referred*, Edinburgh, 1819, A. Bannerman, pp. 65-87, 181-4—E. H. B. RODGER, *Aberdeen Town at Home and Abroad*, Edinburgh, 1893, pp. 259-60—*Aber-*



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CHAPTER IV

LADY BANNERMAN'S LAST DAYS

LADY BANNERMAN continued to live in Cumberland Street for several months longer, and her heart was full of sorrow. "After so many years of companionship with one so gentle and unselfish as my dear Sir Alexander the separation has been very trying, and I seem to miss him more and more," she wrote in March. Sir Alexander had died intestate; arrangements for his pension had not been completed, and otherwise no provision had been made for the future. Lady Bannerman was thus compelled to sell nearly everything, only reserving what little furniture and plate she required for her own use. The total value of Sir Alexander's effects was under £3000; but Anne Guthrie, who had inherited considerable wealth on the death of her father, made it clear that whatever it was in her power to do for her sister Margaret, she would most gladly do. In the spring she took her to Southern France, where they spent several

Lady Bannerman's Last Days

weeks together; then they returned to England and rented a furnished house in Walmer, near the castle, and almost directly opposite the road to Deal, which was of especial interest to Miss Guthrie as being the place where her father was stationed with his regiment sixty years before.

After about a year, they returned to London, and Miss Guthrie urged her sister to live with her. But Lady Bannerman well knew Miss Guthrie's popularity and tastes, and that her house would most of the time be filled with guests. Such a life now no longer had attractions for her. She was sixty-eight years old, and she desired a home where she could live inexpensively and unobtrusively, and have the opportunity in a quiet way of carrying on her little charities.

Such a place she found at 50 Dacre Park, Lee. It was centrally situated, the rent of forty-four pounds a year was within her means, friends lived near, and here she was able to arrange for a policeman by the name of Harris, and his wife, to live with her. These, with Mrs. Harris's niece, who was Lady Bannerman's maid, made up the household. But another strong influence which drew Lady Bannerman to Lee was, that she would be near Greenwich, where the celebrated converted Jew, The Reverend Adolph

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Saphir, a theologian of the Evangelical school, was preaching.¹

It was just at this time that Carlyle, only a few miles away, was penning his reminiscences of his "First Love."

Lady Bannerman's most intimate friends in Lee were Captain John Liebenrood, R.N., his wife, and his sister-in-law, Miss Margaret Cambridge, afterwards Mrs. Parnther. They lived at Belmont Lodge, were old friends of the Prince Edward Island days, and were as earnest evangelicals as Lady Bannerman herself. In 1870 Captain Liebenrood wrote to Miss Harvie, who had charge of the Bog School in Charlottetown: "I never go into a school but you and the dear old Bog School come back to me. . . . I see Lady Bannerman constantly. She is wonderfully well. She and I often speak of you and the school, and she, though so old, seems to remember it, as though but yesterday." Other intimate friends of this period were Mrs. Prowse, of Manor Park, the mother of the historian of Newfoundland; Mrs. Haliburton, of Gordon House, Isleworth, the widow of "Sam Slick," who had died about a year after Sir Alexander; and "Chinese" Gordon, who was commanding the Royal Engineers at Graves-

¹ He continued to be her much-admired pastor up to his removal to Nottingham Hill in 1872.

Lady Bannerman's Last Days

end from 1865 to 1871. In recalling a visit to England in 1870 or 1871, Judge Prowse writes: "I remember going with my mother and wife to a semi-social religious meeting,¹ where we met Lady Bannerman and the celebrated General Gordon. He was a small man with the most wonderful eyes and expression I have ever seen in the human countenance. . . . I believe that Lady Bannerman claimed him as a relative, and he was a co-operator with her in her religious and philanthropic work." It is certain that Lady Bannerman and Gordon knew of no such relationship; for one of the questions yet to be answered by the genealogist is, "Whence sprang 'Chinese' Gordon's great-grandfather?"²

Although "Chinese" Gordon was thirty-five

¹ This gathering was called principally for the purpose of meeting Sir Stevenson Arthur Blackwood (Lord Dufferin's cousin), who was the author of many religious works of the Evangelical school and was very active in many religious and philanthropic movements. His wife, the Duchess of Manchester, was also present.

It is interesting that Lady Bannerman's father should have served some time in Halifax, N.S., where "Chinese" Gordon's great-grandfather, a captain in the army, died, and was buried in 1752. It is also interesting that Lady Bannerman's father should have been appointed as hospital mate in Cape Breton, where "Chinese" Gordon's grandfather was a commandant at the second Siege of Louisbourg. (Extracts from the journal of this siege are printed in *Dallas's Annals of Halifax*, Vol. VI.) But there is certainly no connection between the two families.

Carlyle's First Love

years Lady Bannerman's junior, there must have been a great sympathy between them. Indeed, from a number of sources, we know that they were very intimate. Of Gordon we read: "To the world, his life at Gravesend was a life of self-suppression and self-denial; to himself it was one of happiness and pure peace. He lived wholly for others. His house was school and hospital and almshouse in turn—was more like the abode of a missionary than of a colonel of Engineers. The troubles of all interested him alike. The poor, the sick, the unfortunate were ever welcome, and never did suppliant knock vainly at his door. He always took a great delight in children. . . . His purse was always empty because of his free-handedness; and he even sent some of his medals to the melting-pot in the cause of charity." Something like this might be said with equal truth of Lady Bannerman. Not having the strength to accomplish all she desired in the direction of seeking out the sick and distressed and unfortunate, she paid a large number of Bible women to assist her, and in this way she brought cheer to many a home. From every quarter we hear of her saintliness, sweetness, and wisely given advice. With a single exception all of her jewels were sold for the benefit of the poor, and of the money which Miss Guthrie sent her only a small portion was

Lady Bannerman's Last Days

spent on herself; the rest was expended for the happiness of others.

Such was Lady Bannerman's life during the six years spent in Lee and during the six years she lived in Greenwich or Blackheath.¹ It was one long record of self-effacement for the good of others. Mr. Harris having died, she moved in January, 1873, to 54 South Street, Greenwich,² and here was her life to be sadly and nobly brought to a close. A few relatives would sometimes visit her, and she would occasionally go up to London to spend a day or two with Guthrie. But travelling became more and more of a burden to Lady Bannerman, while Miss Guthrie and Mrs. Dawes, who were settled at *The Poole*, in Hereford, after vain attempts to induce their sister to live with them, rarely left their home. It should also be remembered that all three sisters were well advanced in years. Thus Lady Bannerman was much alone, and the loneliness at times in her last years weighed heavily upon her. She had few intellectual companions, and her activities, to the limit of her strength were among the poor and needy.

¹ Sir Alexander Bannerman was a Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital in 1841.

² This house as well as the one in Dacre Park are still standing and little altered since the periods when Lady Bannerman occupied them.

Carlyle's First Love

No portrait of Lady Bannerman in these later years is known to have existed, while only two of four taken in earlier life seem to have been preserved.

Nevertheless, by the aid of her miniature and the vivid descriptions by intimates of her personal appearance and character in later life an imaginary portrait is not difficult to draw. The following descriptions will to a certain extent supplement what has been given in earlier pages. A friend of many years writes: "Lady

At the first which I saw the good fortune to be able to reproduce in this miniature painted when Lady Bannerman was in her prime. It is a copy of one of the then and now the only one. Andrew Kerr, son of Andrew, executed it in 1840. Mrs. George Kerr, the miniature painter, is now in the city. But later it was one of the attractions of the Library of the Government House, Edinburgh, and of Lady Bannerman's home in Blackhall. The second portrait was a photograph taken in 1840 at the house of Mr. George Kerr in Edinburgh. It was a full-length portrait of Lady Bannerman in white costume. But no copy has been found. Another photographic impression, Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman on the steps of Government House, New Scotland, Glasgow, this are of much value that reproduction of the original. The fourth photograph was taken in 1840, on the day of Lady Bannerman's return to England, but no copy has been found.

It is possible that a portrait of Lady Bannerman in the 1840s of Alexander Kerr, now in the city, may have been a good portrait. It was executed by Mr. Deane, and represented the portrait of King Edward VII. Sir Alexander and Lady Bannerman, and the St. Germans of the city.

Lady Bannerman's Last Days

Bannerman was tall, with a very elegant figure and a queenly dignity that made her a person of distinction in all circumstances. She was a decided blonde, with golden fair hair and clear blue eyes—not the steely blue, but the soft shade, which gives a gentle and loving expression. Her features were not classically regular. She had rather a Scottish type of face, with a forehead both broad and high—a splendid intellectual development—and the whole countenance expressing the highest intelligence and goodness. Without being exactly beautiful, her youth must have been most comely and attractive." The late Dr. Moses Harvey, of St. John's, described Lady Bannerman as one who "could not be called handsome. She was tall, of large frame, and almost approached the masculine type of woman. But her smile was winning, the expression of her large blue eyes gentle and tender. Altogether, hers was a pleasant face to look upon, and when she warmed up in conversation, she became even captivating. In complexion she was a pure blonde and always looked the picture of health." Another speaks of her "wonderful memory for what she had read, and she had read a great deal. Her education had been more that of a man than that of a woman." A member of the family writes: "It is rather curious that though

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she would not take part in many forms of worldliness, she was keenly alive to the feminine weakness of dress, in which art she was a past mistress; but she explained 'it was but due to her husband's position.' " This one little weakness Lady Bannerman had to the last. Carlyle tells us that he saw Lady Bannerman in "1840 (or so)" (some twenty years after his acquaintance in the Kirkcaldy days), when she was "little altered." So also her personal appearance in the fifties and sixties, as we have it here described, was "little altered" in the seventies.

Some of these little sketches give a clearer idea as to the extent of the loneliness which must have been felt by this woman whose brilliant career embraced so much of romance and pathos. One loyal friend, however, was with her to the last. In Greenwich, as in Leam, Captain Liebenrood saw Lady Bannerman constantly.

About the middle of December, 1871, Lady Bannerman wrote to Miss Guthrie that she was not feeling very well. This letter was soon afterwards followed by a note from Mrs. Sole, her housekeeper, bringing the news that Lady Bannerman was much worse; then came Captain Liebenrood's letter, stating that she had died of enteritis, the day before Christmas. General Syngé was with his aunt near the last, and when she was suffering terribly she said to him pathetic

Lady Bannerman's Last Days

ally, "I am ready to go or to remain here a little longer, as God wills; but oh, recovery would be dreadful!"

Thus passed away Margaret Gordon, Lady Bannerman, in the eighty-first year of her age.

It was a wild wintry day and travel at such a time was wholly impossible for Miss Guthrie, who was over seventy, or Mrs. Dawes, over eighty years old. Miss Guthrie, therefore, wrote to Captain Liebenrood and her friend, The Reverend T. W. Nowell, rector of Poplar, to arrange for the funeral; and she sent her companion and butler to make all other arrangements for closing the house. The funeral did not take place till December 30, when only a couple of carriages followed Lady Bannerman to her last resting place in Old Charlton cemetery. General Synge was the only relative among the mourners; Mr. Nowell was the officiating clergyman.

Just fourteen years before, Sir Alexander Bannerman had been buried in Kensal Green, and why Lady Bannerman was buried in Charlton rather than there is not clear, although it would seem to have been her wish; and, as far as possible, Miss Guthrie carried her every wish into execution. Two memoranda, in Lady Bannerman's handwriting, one purporting to be a will,

* Given in full with explanations in Appendix C.

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were in Miss Guthrie's hands. The latter document made Miss Guthrie sole executrix and bequeathed to her the "household furniture, books, pictures, bed and table linen, plate, any trifle of money left . . . and this in gratitude for her unceasing affection and kindness to me at all times." Then followed a large number of bequests, the first of which was, "to my sister, Mary Helen Dawes, the only jewel I have of any value, a miniature of our aged aunt set in forget-me-nots of diamonds." This quaint miniature, which we reproduce, was in a black enamel brooch, and the original is not much larger than a thumbnail. It was doubtless painted about 1821, when Mrs. Usher was in London and when miniatures in bracelets and brooches were especially fashionable. The portrait shows a shrewd, kindly old face with blue eyes, light brown hair, and fresh complexion. The dress is of dark blue velvet with white lace cap. To the day of her death, this miniature never left Lady Bannerman's possession. The second memorandum, written in Greenwich some five years after the above-mentioned will, made a number of money bequests to poor dependents not mentioned in her will. In sending this memorandum to Miss Guthrie, her sister added touchingly, "I feel sure you will do all I ask in the same loving sisterly way you have ever gratified me." The largest of these little

Lady Bannerman's Last Days

bequests were:—£12 to Mrs. Sole;¹ £3 to Joan; £2 to Mrs. Fenston, a bed-ridden woman; £2 to Miss Holemans; £1 to Mrs. Lawson; £1 to Mrs. Anderson; £1 to Mrs. Welsh. A few small pieces of furniture were given to intimate friends, but, for the most part, all of Lady Bannerman's household effects were by Miss Guthrie's companion and butler gathered together and taken to the public auction room in High Street, Greenwich, and sold!

On March 9 the little will was proved, and shortly after a stone with a curiously inaccurate inscription² was erected over the grave.

Mr. and Mrs. J. Sole occupied the basement and upper floor of Lady Bannerman's house in South Street. They were people whom she had found in great difficulties and taken into her home. Mrs. Sole became much attached to Lady Bannerman, and no one could have tended her with more love and tenderness. Joan or Joanna, Lady Bannerman's maid, was Mrs. Sole's niece. The others, Lady Bannerman stated in the memorandum, were "people known to Sole."

Lady Bannerman was born August 24, 1798, not August 24, 1804. We have already pointed out that the dates of Mrs. Dawes and Mrs. Guthrie were also incorrectly given by several years. Lady Bannerman was born August 24 and died December 24. Carlyle was born December 4 and died February 4. Dr. Guthrie was born May 1 and died May 1.

Carlyle's First Love

DAME MARGARET

widow of

Sir Alexander Bannerman

Governor of

Newfoundland

and

M.P. for Aberdeen

Born August 21st

1784

Died Decem. 17 24th

1871

D.M.B.

1878.

Two years later Carlyle died, and with the publication of Froude's *Life* the world was for the first time informed that Margaret Gordon was the original, so far as there was an original, of Blumine in *Sartor Resartus*. It is not a little remarkable that of the scores of people whom I have met or with whom I have corresponded who knew Lady Bannerman well, and of the few, including her relatives, who knew her intimately, *not one ever heard her mention her acquaintance with Carlyle*. Carlyle tells us in *Sartor*, his autobiography, "The First Love which is Infinite" can be followed by no second like unto it." Was this true in Carlyle's

Lady Bannerman's Last Days

experience? And was Carlyle Margaret Gordon's First Love? Did her reticence and reserve indicate unforgettable memories? From what has gone before each reader must draw his own conclusions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A LIST OF REFERENCES

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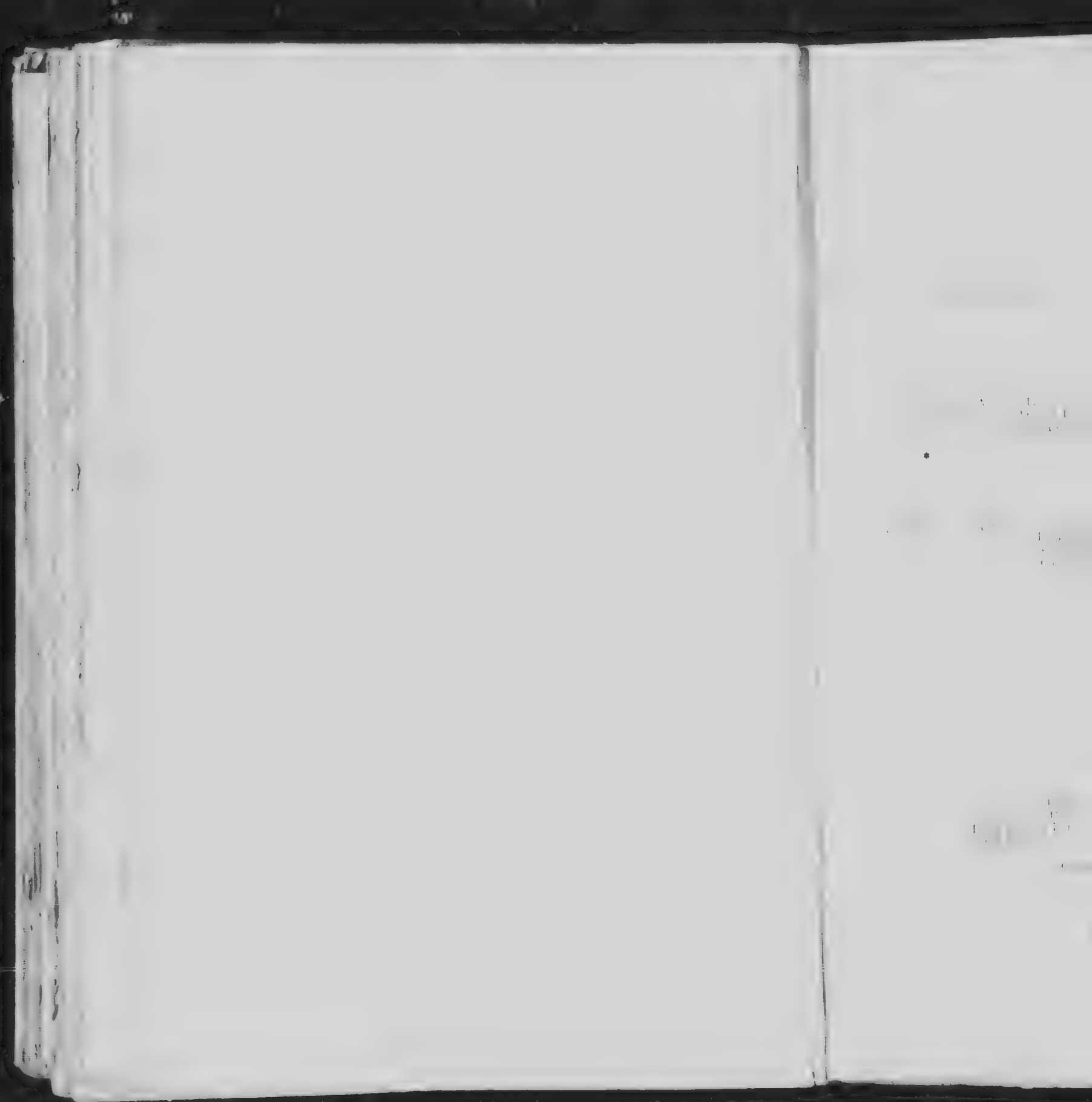
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APPENDIX B CATERPILLAR TREES

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APPENDIX C

HYDE TREE

Samuel Hyde
b. before 1728. Emigrated
to Prince Edward Island.

Thomas Hyde
Emigrated
from Cape
Breton in
1770, to
Prince
Edward
Island, with
two sons
and five
daughters.

1. Thomas Hyde - Anna Brown.
2. William Hyde - Christina Simpson.

4. Isabella Hyde - John Wilson.
2. Anne Hyde - Johnson Bearsto.
3. Frances Hyde - Michael Seeley
4. Mary Hyde - John Stewart
- (Margaret(?) Hyde,)
5. (Walter Patterson.)

John Wilson
in Ireland.

Descendants of these families are scattered over Prince Edward Island and parts of the
United States

APPENDIX E

COPY OF COMPASSIONATE PAPERS IN RECORD OFFICE, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON

*A. Mrs. Usher's Petition dated "KIRKCALDY,
Nov. 7, 1817."*

My Lord,

I must humbly beg leave to state to your Lordship that in the year 1776 my brother Alexander Gordon entered the Army as a medical officer, served during the American War in the Guards and was promoted to the situation of Apothecary to the Forces in which capacity he died leaving four infant children who through the recommendation of General Bowyer in 1802 [*sic*; should be 1803] were placed on the Compassionate List at six pounds each. Since that period the two female children have been under my care and, as I have but a very small annuity as the widow of a clergyman, have pressed most hardly upon me. One of the boys being dead and the other able to provide for himself at sea, the £12 a year allowed to them has not been drawn for the last five years and it is under these circumstances I have ventured to solicit your Lordship's benevolence in favour of the two girls who are now at a time requiring all my endeavours to place them in a situation to procure their own livelihood and which I am quite unable to do, and I most humbly

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hope your Lordship will, through consideration of the difficulties in which we are placed, allow the girls to receive the twelve pounds a year (the boys do not draw) in addition to their own, or grant them such other increase, none having been given them since they were first put on the List, as your Lordship may think proper. And if your Lordship should think fit to grant the prayer of this letter, your Lordship will greatly relieve the family of an old officer and remove the greatest anxiety from the mind of your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

ELIZA USHER.

Marked on the back.—£2 each additional. Mrs. Usher informed 31/1/18.

Note on this Application. Extract from Compassionate Abstract for 1804 —Alex^r. Gordon, Apothecary to the Forces, serving in Nova Scotia, died on his passage from Halifax to England leaving his widow and four small children in great distress.

Recommended by Gen^l. Bowyer.

B. Unto the Rt. Honble. Viscount Palmerston. The Petition of Elizabeth Usher widow of the Revd. John Usher, late Minister of Kinghorn, Scotland, humbly sheweth

That your petitioner's brother Alexander Gordon was an army surgeon during the whole of the American War and in active service in various parts of the world in different medical capacities in His Majesty's service until the year 1803 when he died leaving two sons and two daughters totally unprovided for. That the sons are now doing for themselves but the two daughters (Mary and Margaret) are still supported by your petitioner, except £8 0 0 per annum,

Appendix E

granted from the Compassionate Fund, but as your petitioner's own Annuity as widow of a Scottish clergyman is only £33 per annum, she finds herself from the advanced rate of every necessary of life and other circumstances, unable to maintain them on the above limited allowance and therefore humbly solicits your Lordship's influence and aid in procuring a small augmentation from the Compassionate Fund to that already granted. May your Lordship therefore be pleased to consider what is above stated and grant whatever additional increase to the above allowance your Lordship may think proper and your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

ELIZA USHER.

KIRKCALDY, April 29, 1820.

Marked.—£2 0 0 add^d. Informed 26/5/1820.

Note.—This family was placed on the List in 1804 at £6 0 0, and £2 0 0 additional, to the daughters, was granted in 1818.

£2 0 0 add^d. 21/5/20

The first of these petitions is entirely in Mrs. Usher's handwriting; the second is only signed by her.

APPENDIX G

LADY BANNERMAN'S WILL

AS FOUND IN SOMERSET HOUSE, LONDON, ENGLAND

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT¹ of me, Margaret Bannerman, widow, residing at 50 Dacre Park, Lee, Kent. I appoint my half-sister, Anne Leonora Guthrie, to be my executrix, and bequeath to her my household furniture, books, pictures, bed and table linen, plate, any trifle of money left and whatever is not mentioned hereafter that belongs to me, and this in gratitude for her unceasing affection and kindness to me at all times. I bequeath to my sister, Mary Helen Dawes, the only jewel I have of any value, a miniature of our aged aunt, set in forget-me-nots of diamonds,² also any article of furniture she may select. To George Bannerman,³ my late husband's nephew, the miniature of his grandfather,⁴ by Robertson.⁵ To his three sisters, Mrs. Lynge,⁶ Mrs. Hagarth⁷ and Miss Bannerman,⁸ three pictures presented to me by the Prince of Wales,⁹ unless my executrix wishes to keep them in which case she will select some other articles. To Margaret Bannerman,¹⁰ the little round miniature of her great grandfather.¹¹ To Ina Pirie,¹² wife of Logie Pirie,¹³ the small miniature of her dear uncle.¹⁴ To Margaret Lucy Gillespie,¹⁵ wife of Major Gillespie, whatever lace, black or white, I have in shawls, flounces or pieces. To her mother, Mrs. Lowry Guthrie,¹⁶

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any memento my executrix thinks she would like. To Margaret Parnter,¹⁷ wife of the Revd. D. B. Parnter,¹⁸ Carlton, (*sic*) New Brunswick, my little watch with its gold chain and £20, the watch to be put in order before being sent. To Captain Liebenrood,¹⁹ R.N., the clock in black marble. To Mrs. Liebenrood,²⁰ the case of scissors. To Mrs. Burrows,²¹ wife of General Burrows, all my sable fur, shawl muff and bits. To Christina and Georgina Forbes,²² whatever my executrix thinks will be acceptable. To Mrs. Prowse,²³ 15 Northbrook Road, Manor Park, Lee, the volume of Mr. Lapper,²⁴ on the Lord's Prayer and his little book "Christ and the Scriptures." To Mrs. Harris,²⁵ and Lizzie White,²⁶ in remembrance of their affection and attention £5 each. In Witness Whereof I have herewith set my hand this twenty-second day of October, eighteen hundred and seventy-two (1872).

MARGARET BANNERMAN.

Signed by the same testatrix as her last will and testament in the presence of us present at the same time who at her request in her presence and in the presence of each other have herewith subscribed our names as witnesses.

T. M. WHITTAKER,
ROBERT STAGG.

SPENCER PLACE,
BLACKHEATH, S.E.

Proved 7th March, 1879.

1. On December 28, 1878, Miss Guthrie wrote: "There are two memoranda in her own handwriting, one purporting to be a will." Items in the second memorandum, not dealt with in the will, are spoken of in the text.

Appendix G

2. This miniature, reproduced in the text, was willed to Mrs. Dawes, who in turn willed it to her niece, Katherine M. Gilliespie (Mrs. Edward Freeman), in whose possession it now is.
3. George Bannerman (1827-1901), 10th Baronet. Son of Thomas Bannerman.
4. Thomas Bannerman (1743-1820).
5. Andrew Robertson (1777-1845).
6. This should be Mrs. Synge (Jane Bannerman). Still living.
7. This should be Mrs. Hogarth (Elizabeth Bannerman), m. 1869 A. P. Hogarth. She died February 6, 1877.
8. Euphemia Bannerman, still living.
9. The present King of England on his visit to Newfoundland in 1860.
10. Sister of George Bannerman. She died, unmarried, March 30, 1906.
11. Alexander Bannerman (1715-82)
12. Thomasina, another sister of George Bannerman, 10th Baronet, married 1860 Francis Logie Pirie. She died in 1899.
13. Mr. Pirie is still living. He married secondly a daughter of Captain Liebenrood.
14. Sir Alexander Bannerman, Kt.
15. Only child of the Rev. Lowry Guthrie. Still living.
16. Katharine Blanche, daughter of Prof. Thomas Starkie. Deceased.
17. Margaret Cambridge, sister of Capt. Liebenrood's wife. Died about 1905.
18. Curate of St. John's, Upper Holloway, Islington, 1852; Crapaud, P.E.I., Canada, 1860; Rector Charlottetown, P.E.I., 1861-71. He followed Rev. M. Swabey (who married his wife's sister) as Rector of St. Jude's, Carleton, New Brunswick, where he was stationed 1873-87.

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19. Captain John Hancock, who changed his name to Liebenrood when he acquired the Prospect Hill Park property in Reading, England. He married Elizabeth Cambridge, lived in Charlottetown for a number of years, and died about 1883.
20. Elizabeth, daughter of Lemuel Cambridge, of Richmond, Canada (FOX-DAVIES, *Armorial Families*, 4th ed., 1902). Sister of Mrs. Parnter (17). Died 1888.
21. Wife of Major-General Arthur George Burrows.
22. Two of Lady Bannerman's Scotch friends who frequently visited her at Greenwich. They painted beautifully. Both dead.
23. Mother of D. W. Prowse, Esq., the Newfoundland historian.
24. This name should be *Saphir*—Rev. Adolph Saphir (1831-91). *Lectures on the Lord's Prayer* appeared first in London in 1869, 9th ed., 1884; *Christ and the Scriptures*, 2nd ed., 1867.
25. Lady Bannerman's housekeeper at 50 Dacre Park, Lee. She was the wife of a policeman. On the death of Mr. Harris, the Soles were engaged.
26. Niece of Mrs. Harris. Lady Bannerman's maid.

APPENDIX H

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Appendix H

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Appendix H

PART II

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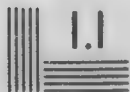
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